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EDITORIAL: New Delhi, 1961 D.W.H. 219

ARTICLES

Some Notes on the Biblical Doctrine of the World R. C. CHALMERS 222

The Authority of the Bible GEORGE JOHNSTON 232

"Returning unto the Lord" G. GERALD HARROP 239

Camus and Bonhoeffer on the Fall PIETER DE JONG 245

Roman Catholic Theology in Germany Today GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A. 258

The Christian Heritage in Canada H. H. WALSH 271

BOOK REVIEWS

The New English Bible: New Testament J. B. HIBBITTS 286

M. Eliade and J. M. Kitagawa (eds.): *The History of Religion: Essays in Methodology* R. M. BENNETT 290

J. M. Kitagawa (ed.): *Modern Trends in World Religions* K. JOBLIN 292

CONTRIBUTORS

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Editorial

NEW DELHI, 1961

THE THIRD Assembly of the World Council of Churches will take place at New Delhi, India, from November 18 to December 6 this year. Some thirty delegates from the Canadian churches will be present.

1. The theme of the Assembly is challenging: "Christ the Light of the World." This theme may sound too bold and tactless for a meeting in a land proud of its own great religions, and in fact the World Council is an advertisement as much of Christian disunity as of unity. How can such an Assembly help the world to believe? The reaction among non-Christians will deserve earnest attention. But meantime it is a cause for thankfulness that the temptation to strike a minor note instead of a major one has been resisted. The Church must be ruled by her Lord, not by her own weakness. It may be that some feeble Christians and even some non-Christians will begin to learn that the Church lives on Christ, not on herself, so that even her brokenness, when she confesses it, becomes a sign that the kingdom, the power and the glory are his, not hers.

At a recent meeting of the Canadian delegates by way of preparation, one of them expressed the hope that in this day of India's rapid social change it will be made clear that Christ is Lord of technological science and human advancement. Will India, like the "Christian" West, fall into the trap of secularism, or will the very fact that the Assembly is meeting in India show that the Church is not a Western phenomenon but the Church of a God who has a design for India and the East that may put our Western pattern to shame?

2. A notable event, highly relevant to the Assembly's theme is the prospective integration at New Delhi of the World Council and the International Missionary Council. Reports show that the churches and missionary societies belonging to the I.M.C. almost unanimously approve both the idea and the terms of integration. A great gain in principle will be the result, for the World Council is not truly a world council if the world mission of the Church is co-ordinated through another council; nor is the I.M.C. truly a church council if mission is regarded as a project separate from all the standing concerns of the Church's existence. The gain in principle at this point is not a gain in mere "theory." Christian principle is not "theory," but dogma that shapes life. The integration will bring us realistically nearer the One Church for the One World. The ecumenical movement in its modern phase was born out of the setting-up of the I.M.C. at Edinburgh in 1910. Now mother and child are to be reunited.

3. A proposed basis of membership in the Council will be put before the Assembly. One of its improvements upon the present basis is its allusion to the integral character of the Church's life upon which we have just been remarking. The present basis runs: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." The proposed new basis is:

> The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

The present basis says nothing about the task of the Church; the new basis makes it a main feature. It also reinforces the Trinitarian witness, adds a welcome binding to the Scriptures, and replaces *accepts* by the more fitting *confesses*.

4. As a new arm, the I.M.C., becomes part of the Council, one of the original arms, the Faith and Order Commission, will be raising questions with a view to making its role more effective. The F.O.C. differs from other parts of the total organization in the fact that its membership, like that of the Central Committee, is composed by direct representation from the churches, whereas other departments are run by special officers and committees. Yet at the same time the F.O.C. is classed in a rather subordinate way within the Division of Studies. The result has been an impairment of the Commission's power to confront the Council and the churches with the urgency of the call to oneness. The decision has already been made to provide the Commission with an ampler budget and to increase its secretariat from one to three. But the problem of reorganization has still to be faced.

To strengthen the F.O.C.'s function, as described in its constitution, "to proclaim the essential oneness of the Church of Christ and to keep prominently before the World Council and the Churches the obligation to manifest that unity," a new definition of unity has been prepared by the Commission for consideration by the churches. The first paragraph runs:

> The Commission on Faith and Order understands that the unity which is both God's will and His gift to His Church is one which brings all in each place who confess Christ Jesus as Lord unto a fully committed fellowship with one another through one baptism into Him, holding the one apostolic faith, preaching the one Gospel and breaking the one bread, and having a corporate life reaching out in witness and service to all; and which at the same time unites them with the whole Christian fellowship in all places and all ages in such wise that ministry and members are acknowledged by all, and that all can act and speak together as occasion requires for the tasks to which God calls the Church.

Much may be said about this definition as we ask whether it truly depicts "the nature of the unity we seek." Its demand for unity among *all in each place* brings the problem down in a startling way to its real

roots. Bishop Newbigin has remarked that it is our lack of oneness on the local level that has led to the top-heavy organization of regional, national, and international councils on a plane at which the problem cannot be solved. Another comment upon the new definition worth quoting is that of Professor D'Espine: "By its very nature such a unity is visible, but it does not imply a single centralized ecclesiastical institution—which is very generally set aside as undesirable. It is compatible with a large degree of institutional and liturgical diversity, but is neither 'federal' nor merely 'spiritual'."

5. Many other matters of interest and concern will also come before the delegates: reports from the Division of Studies, from the study-commissions of the F.O.C., from Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees; a proposed new study on "Providence and History"; and the continuing matters of evangelism, rapid social change, men and women, the laity, and the major issues of international affairs. A matter of great importance is the application for membership of the Russian Orthodox Church, balanced by a new interest from the Pentecostal side and even by applications from one or two Pentecostal churches. These new features, along with the more active attention on the part of the Church of Rome to the wider aspects of ecumenicity, portend great promise and new tensions in interchurch relations. The ecumenical movement may, on the one hand, feel the stresses of the operation of religious power-blocs, or it may, on the other hand, just because of these new confrontations, receive fresh stirrings from the Spirit of the Church. The Assembly must seek to have a prayer-life that runs deep and true. The delegates can hardly fail to be made conscious that new Christian history and total history are in the making and that they are honoured with a great trust in being at the centre of its creation.

D.W.H.

Some Notes on the Biblical Doctrine of the World

R. C. CHALMERS

In the Bible the term "world" (*kosmos*) is used in three senses, with many variations. First, the world stands for all created reality, the whole universe "the heavens and the earth" (Gen. 2:1). Second, the term world is also used to denote all people on the earth (John 3:16). Third, world is a word which depicts human nature apart from God, or in opposition to God (1 John 5:19). These three uses of the term, therefore, may serve as an outline for our consideration of the biblical doctrine of the world under the following heads: Creation, Man (anthropology), and Salvation (soteriology and eschatology).

I. Creation

Emil Brunner believes that a study of the biblical doctrine of creation should begin "with the first chapter of the Gospel of John, and some other passages of the New Testament, and not with the first chapter of Genesis" (*Dogmatics*, II,[1] p. 6.). The reason for this selection is that Christ is the key to the biblical doctrine of creation—a position with which Karl Barth is in full accord.[2] When we begin with the Creed, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," we begin not with God incognito but with the Father who is known through his Son, Jesus Christ, the living Word of God, who became flesh for us men and our salvation. In other words, the first statement of the Creed, as well as the second, is Christological in its reference.

Before proceeding further we should note what is meant by the phrase "the Word of God." In the Old Testament we often come across "the Word of the Lord." This Word is not a proposition. It is that strange, mysterious power of God revealing the divine will to men. The Word of God is active and dynamic. "So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it" (Isa. 55:11). When God speaks, something happens (Ps. 33:9).

In the New Testament the Word of God has reference sometimes to

1. London: Lutterworth Press, 1952.
2. Karl Barth's massive four Parts (books) in Volume Three of his *Church Dogmatics*, dealing with the Doctrine of Creation, have to do respectively with "The Work of Creation," "The Creature" (Man), "The Creator and His Creature" (Providence), and "God's Commandment" (Ethics) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1958–1961).

the Scriptures, sometimes to preaching, sometimes to the gospel itself, but its chief reference is to Jesus Christ, the Word incarnate. It is this Christological interpretation of the Word, powerful and personal, redemptive and communicative, that is predominant in the New Testament. It is by means of the Word that God conveys his revelation to men. And it is through the saving activity of the Word that people are brought from darkness to light. "For the Word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart" (Heb. 4:12).

The New Testament makes plain that God's work in creation was executed by the Divine Word, Jesus Christ. "By him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible" (Col. 1:16). The Epistle to the Hebrews states that "the worlds were framed by the word of God" (Heb. 11:2). These epistles confirm the affirmation in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel: "All things were made by him [the Word]; and without him was not anything made that was made" (John 1:3).

When we discern that creation is the work of the Word of God we are at once ushered into the arena of revelation and consequently of faith. To grasp the doctrine of creation—or more exactly, the doctrine of God, the Creator—we require something other than the powers of natural reason. We need the insight which comes from faith in Jesus Christ. "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God" (Heb. 11:3) and through no other means. "Credo ut intelligam" is a dictum that is relevant here as in the apprehension of divine truth in other areas of thought.

Barth tells us that when we place the revelation of Jesus Christ at the heart of the doctrine of creation we are at once led into a covenant theology in which the teaching of divine election is of unique importance. "The covenant is as old as creation," writes Barth. "When the existence of creation begins, God's dealing with man also begins. . . . The covenant is not only quite as old as creation, it is older than it. Before the world was . . . God willed to hold communion with man" (*Dogmatics in Outline*,[3] p. 63). Creation, according to Barth, is "the external basis" of the covenant, while the covenant is "the internal basis" of creation. Within the scope of Christian truth creation and covenant are, therefore, inseparable.

When we speak of covenant we are led to think also of the doctrine of grace. Creation is the work of grace, a work which has come from God, not as effect from cause, but as his free gift, an expression of his love. Creation is the offspring of the Father's love. God willed freely in love to create that which can respond to him and have communion with him as a free, personal spirit.

Moreover, since creation is the result of God's loving will, it is "very

3. London: S.C.M. Press, 1949.

good" (Gen. 1:31). This implies that there is no place for any sort of dualism in the biblical view of creation. God alone is the Lord of all creation, visible and invisible, of earth and heaven. Matter as well as spirit is subject to his reign. Hence there is no ground for gnostic concepts, which regard matter as evil and spirit as good, in the Christian doctrine of the world.

The stories of Genesis 1 and 2 are sometimes referred to as "meaningful myths." Barth regards these stories as "saga" because they have historical significance, even though they cannot be explained by ordinary historical criteria.

Does this mean that Barth would have us believe these pictures in Genesis 1 and 2 to be scientifically accurate accounts of creation's dawn? By no means. He regards "Christian faith" as "fundamentally free in regard to all world-pictures. . . . As Christians we must not let ourselves be taken captive either by an ancient picture . . . or one newly arisen and beginning to be dominant" (*Dogmatics in Outline*, p. 59).

Undoubtedly the biblical writers shared the cosmology of ancient times which pictured the earth as a flat disk, with a dome, or firmament, above it. There were waters supposed to be above the firmament which descended in rain when God "opened the windows of heaven." Within, or underneath, the firmament were the sun, moon, and stars. There were also "waters under the earth" which gushed forth in springs and fountains. Devout Jews, too, believed that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth.

Modern science has given us a very different picture of the world, one in which we view this round earth as a speck in the vastness of cosmic space. Science unfolds to us the story of creation as it is seen by means of scientific instruments and by the use of scientific categories. But the modern scientific picture of the world, or scientific cosmology, in no way invalidates the truth of the biblical affirmation that creation *in toto* is the work of God the Father Almighty. The immensity, complexity, order, and grandeur of the universe made known to us by modern science speak to the believer of the splendour and greatness of God who fashioned it in love.

Some people find in the opening verses of Genesis a picture of primeval chaos out of which God brought order. However, it has been the teaching of the Church that before creation, and apart from God, there was nothing. Creation is *ex nihilo*. Chaos and disorder are subsequent to the establishment of creation and order by God. Chaos and disorder are the "dark shadow" or the negative aspect of God's order. Evil remains a mystery, an "unnecessary necessity." But there is no biblical teaching which would lead us to think of the Devil as God's "opposite number," some power equal to that of God, so that victory for him is in doubt. In spite of the evil and chaos in his world, God remains the Lord, as the resurrection of Christ testifies, according to St. Paul (Eph. 1: 10, 20).

Calvin insisted that the world was the "theatre" or "mirror" of God's glory. It belonged to the *opera Dei*, along with Providence and Redemption. In fact it is in and through creation that God's providential rule is manifest and his redemption in Christ Jesus is carried through to its triumphant conclusion.

God is the living God. Therefore, creation is not something over and done with forever. God created, he is creating, and he will create. These are three aspects of the doctrine of creation. God is active in his world, bringing good out of evil, making crosses into thrones of his glory, and upholding all things "by the Word of his power." Our very existence, as Calvin wrote, is "a subsistence" in God. Apart from God's creative hand there would be no world, only a void.

The doctrine of God, the Creator, has several implications for the Christian's view of the world. For one thing, the Christian must not succumb either to optimism or to pessimism, using these terms in their secular sense. For instance, Barth has criticized Leibnitz for his optimistic statement that this is "the best of all possible worlds." Such optimism, or idealism, is naïve, because it makes no reference to Jesus Christ, crucified and risen. It does not take account of the darker things in this world. On the other hand, to become a Schopenhauer in outlook, viewing the world with abject pessimism, is also unwarranted because God is the Lord not only of the light but also of the darkness (see Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, III/1, pp. 119–132).

Again, God wills to be in relation to his world. Such a statement is implicit in his very will to bring into existence something other than himself. He created the world in love for love's sake in order that there would be an object of his love outside the Godhead. Therefore, since God willed eternally to create a world we can be certain that at no time will he decide to break off his covenant relationship with creation, let everything "drift," give the world "up to Satan," or abdicate the throne of the universe. His predestinating grace reminds us that "from all eternity" God has determined to be wedded to his world, for better, for worse, until the end when the Son shall deliver up the Kingdom to the Father and he shall reign for ever and ever.

Further, because God created the world, sustains it, and directs it, creation at every stage of its existence is dependent on him for its life and power. "In him we live and move and have our being" (Acts 17:28). What we speak of as "natural law" has a supernatural source. Man and his world are not autonomous but theonomous. They are not self-existent but dependent on their Maker and Provider. It is this belief which lies at the basis of Christian humility and the grace of gratitude.

There is another truth stressed about creation in Bible, whether of the physical world or of man, and that is that it is creaturely; that creation is temporal while God is eternal (e.g., Isa. 40:8; 2 Cor. 4:15). There is an affinity between God and that which he has made but there is also

a tremendous distinction and it is to be seen in the creatureliness of creation and the eternity of God. Nothing that is material, or has physical existence, can endure. Only that which is of God, who is Spirit, abides forever. As creation had a beginning, so, too, it will have an end (*finis*). "Here we have no continuing city" (Heb. 13:14). The mortality of man and all creation, this "thraldom of decay," is evident to the biblical writers. "As for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth; for the wind passeth over it, and it is gone; and the place thereof shall know it no more" (Ps. 103:15, 16). This is all the more reason why man should trust in "the mercy of the Lord" which is "from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him."

From the biblical point of view, therefore, creation can only be understood in terms of Jesus Christ. He, the living Word of God, reveals to believers that creation is God's handiwork. He makes clear to his faithful children the truth about the world, that it is not "on its own"; that instead of being subject to "blind forces" the world is in the control of one who marks the sparrow's fall and clothes the lilies of the field in the garments of beauty.

As we look at creation have we, then, some ground for hope? Is there some basis for our faith that in the end everything in the universe will proclaim the Father's praise? I believe that the answer is to be found in Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, who forgives, dies, rises, ascends, and will return. He is the one *elpis* of the New Testament. "For all the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen, unto the glory of God by us" (2 Cor. 1:20). Christ, the divine Word, is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last. In him we see the meaning of creation. Through him we find God's purpose for the world. And by him we discern the goal toward which creation is being directed—the Kingdom of God. So we can affirm with Browning's Pippa that "All's right with the world," not because of some propitious social circumstances (Pippa lived in poverty), but because the world is controlled and supported by God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

II. Man (Anthropology)

"Because man . . . is the creature whose relation to God is revealed to us in the Word of God, he is the central object of the theological doctrine of creation," writes Barth (*Church Dogmatics*, III/2, p. 3). Thus Barth begins not with man in abstraction but with man in relation to God as revealed in Jesus Christ, the God-man. Here is another line of evidence to support Barth's Christomonism, as it has been described somewhat disparagingly. However, we believe that since God became man in Christ Jesus there is no other way for a Christian to view man than through the mind of Christ. In Christ we see "the humanity of God."

The Bible does not think of God alone but always in relation to his

creation. And this *analogia relationis* is especially seen when we consider the biblical view of man. The Psalmist does not ask, "What is man?" but rather, "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" (Ps. 8:4). Here is the "I-Thou" relationship stated boldly and concretely. God treats man as a person with whom he can enter into communion in a personal manner. Since God is love and wills to love that which he has created, he can only do so supremely when his creatures are capable of responding to him in love.

The Bible tells us that man is made in God's image. This image must not be conceived as a natural endowment, a "something" which man possesses in his own right. Rather the *imago Dei* exists only in relationship to that which it images, namely, God, as seen in Jesus Christ.

Karl Barth stresses this existential relationship in the *imago Dei* by pointing out, to begin with, that man is created in relationship since God created him in his own image as male and female, not as a solitary creature. Moreover, Barth claims that this *analogia* relationship (quite distinct from *analogia entis*) refers back to the triune nature of God. "As the Father of the Son and the Son of the Father He is Himself I and Thou, confronting Himself and yet always one and the same in the Holy Ghost. God created man in His own image, in correspondence with His own being and essence" (*Church Dogmatics*, III/2, p. 324).

Further, since Jesus Christ is "the express image of God's person," (Heb. 1:3), who is also "real man," or the "representative person," so it is in and through him, and him alone, that man finds his true humanity and through him that the *imago Dei* relationship with the Father is maintained. Thus, again we see that the *imago Dei* tells us that man is God's creature, dependent on his Creator for life and all things. In other words, if man were not created in God's image he would not be man.

When God created man, and gave him dominion over many earthly things, he limited himself in love. God did so for the purpose of giving man a certain measure of freedom. This is a limited freedom, since man is a finite creature. But it is, nevertheless, a real freedom, that is, freedom to obey God's will and purpose for himself; freedom to attain to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, which is Christian maturity. Only in freedom can man make a true personal response in love to his Creator. This is the liberty of the sons of God who live by faith in Jesus Christ.

Moreover, since man the creature was created by God, man's history is meaningful to God. This we also learn through the God-man, Christ Jesus, who tabernacled among men, who entered into history, who "dated" history B.C. and A.D., and who unfolded God's purpose to man in history. He has made us realize that the glorious consummation of his Kingdom is not the annulment but the transformation of history when there shall be "a new heaven and a new earth" (Rev. 21:1). History is God's testing ground for humanity; the sphere in which God wills to "try

the saints" and to manifest his love to them in ways of mercy and of judgment. In history Christians behold God's providential ordering of their lives in that community of faith and hope and love, the Church, the body of Christ.

But there is a dark side to man's existence. Human history is not only the scene where God's providence is evident; it is also the place where man has rebelled against God. Man used "the dread gift of free-will" to say "No" to his Maker. He turned his gift of freedom against the author of freedom and consequently became enslaved. So the human predicament is that man finds himself in the bondage of self-will. Thus man sins and comes short of the glory of God (Rom. 3:23). Man has departed from God's way and has chosen his own path. Consequently man has become a lost soul.

The Christian has no reason to look askance at psychology, philosophy, and modern medicine, or to despise the contribution they have made to a better understanding of human nature. But the various sciences—social, physical, and medical—can only bring us information about man that is partial, circumscribed, and inadequate for a full understanding of human nature. It is only when we see man from the standpoint of faith, which is total in its reference, only when we view man as he appears before his Creator, that we can behold him in his glory and his shame.

We must look at human sin, therefore, not in the abstract but in terms of God's relationship to man in Christ Jesus. Sin is a religious word. It has no meaning apart from divine grace. Sin must always be considered within the context of grace. When we see sin this light, which means in the light of the cross of Christ, we see its heinousness, on the one hand, and the means whereby sin can be overcome, on the other hand. It is at Calvary that we are able to discern the truth of St. Paul's words: "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound" (Rom. 5:20). Man in sin is in a state of disgrace. But the glory of the gospel is that the Holy Spirit seeks for sinful man to restore him to a state of grace. God does not give man up to the consequences of his own sin. His love never lets man go. This is one aspect of the truth of his covenant with man. Thus even as a sinner man remains God's creature, the object of his pursuing love.

Sin corrupts the whole personality. Because sin is so pervasive, creating a condition of sinfulness within the soul, it perverts all that is high and holy in human life. It turns man away from God. Consequently God's work of grace must minister to the whole man. His love transforms the faithful in body and mind and soul.

Contrary to secular opinion, the Christian concept of sin does not lead to a pessimistic view of human life. Rather it points to the high dignity of man, made in God's image, a height from which man has fallen, or is falling, but he never falls out of God's love and care. Sin negatively reveals man as God's creature who is under divine judgment, knowing only the

reality of his wrath, but a judgment which is for the purpose of bringing man to repentance and faith and true life in God. "Man's unhappiness comes of his greatness." Because man can sin and thus depart from God he is seen to be in a unique relationship to God. Indeed, man is the crown of creation since he is the special object of the Father's redemptive love. In other words, the Christian view of man is undergirded by an ultimate and divine optimism because we cannot speak of man's sin without also referring to God's grace which overcomes sin and grants to man the gift of eternal life.

III. Salvation (Soteriology and Eschatology)

"Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him," according to the First Epistle of John. "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world" (1 John 2:15, 16). All Johannine literature makes plain that there is opposition between God and the world, so that the world is under God's judgment (John 9:39; 15:18, etc.). There is a basic alienation between the world and its Maker, a fundamental rift in the very heart of things. The devil is even referred to as "the prince of this world" (John 16:11). Does not this sort of language savour of gnosticism? Does it not say to us that between God and his creation there is "a great gulf fixed"?

On the contrary, Johannine literature has as its background the struggle of the early Church with gnosticism. This literature begins with the basic premise that "the Word was made flesh" (John 1:14). There is no natural opposition between God and the world of matter because God created matter and incarnated himself in matter. The world, therefore, is not incurably evil, though at present an interloper appears to have turned it toward ungodly ends.

We know that the world is not incurably evil because God sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world (John 4:42). The alienation between God and the world has been overcome by Christ's accomplished reconciliation. The gulf has been bridged by the Son of God. The dethroned powers in this world may work their will for a time but their future destruction is certain because they have been dethroned by him who has taken captivity captive, has triumphed over all evil, and lives as Lord of the world. D-day is the promise of V-day. Thus grace has triumphed—and will triumph completely—according to the biblical view of the world. To use the pictures of the Book of Revelation, the legions of Satan make war against the Lord, but Satan and his hosts are defeated by him who is "King of kings, and Lord of Lords" (Rev. 19:16).

A question sometimes asked is: Will salvation be cosmic in its reference? Is it salvation only for man, or does it embrace the whole universe?

There are passages in Scripture which strongly suggest that by the "fall" the whole of creation was made "subject to vanity" and "the bondage of corruption." The very fact of death seems to be connected, in the mind of St. Paul, with sin. Death is the wages paid by sin (Rom. 6:23). It is rather speculative and unbiblical to speak about a "primordial fall." But the universal range of redemption in the biblical view of the world implies that the corruption of sin extends beyond the bounds of human life. Is not cosmic redemption, affecting even the animal world, the message of the four beasts in heaven in Revelation 4? Dr. Donald W. Richardson states that "four is the cosmic number; and the four living creatures of verses 6–8 are the symbol of all creation redeemed, transformed, perfected, and brought under obedience to God's will and manifesting his glory" (*The Revelation of Jesus Christ*,[4] p. 70). The six wings possessed by each beast symbolize "the perfection of their equipment for the service of God." In other words, the seer of Patmos looks into the far future by faith and beholds all creation praising God.

Christ, the Word, who brought creation into existence is also the one who recreates the world by his power (2 Cor. 5:17). And while the renewal of man is central in this reality of the new creation which Christ brings, nevertheless the inference is that he reconciles "all things to himself" (Col. 1:20), "whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven." He is the cosmic Christ whose redemptive sway is not confined to human life but embraces the whole of creation.

Moreover, is not such cosmic redemption implicit in the message of the prophets? Proto-Isaiah writes of that Messianic age when "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid" (Isa. 11:6), inferring that the enmity in the animal world will be healed by God's anointed. At that coming day "the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose" (Isa. 35:1). The same message is to be found in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 55:12, 13), Hosea (2:18–23), Joel (3:18), and Amos (9:13). And it is this message that is fulfilled by the glorious consummation wrought by Christ's victory, so that "the former things" of strife, sorrow, and pain "are passed away" (Rev. 21:4). Christ makes "all things new." He is the Mediator of the new covenant and the new creation. He vindicates the purpose of God by making it possible for God to dwell with his people in a world cleansed from sin, when "God himself shall be with them, and be their God" (Rev. 21:3).

Thus soteriology leads into eschatology. The doctrine of salvation becomes inseparable from the doctrine of last things. The Christian life is linked indissolubly with the Christian goal. Further, Christ's salvation is all-inclusive because it redeems the entire creation. The whole world will find new life through him.

One thing is certain: Christians now have a foretaste of the consummation of the Kingdom. They are now delivered from this present evil age and

4. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1939.

transported to "the age to come." Christ has destroyed the works of the Devil (1 John 3:8), so that "now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3:2). This beatific vision is the desire of the saints.

Christ is not of this world (John 17:16). His origin is from above. Even so, according to Johannine teaching (John 17:14), the Church lives in this world but its source and sustenance come from above, from beyond this temporal scene. The Church consists of the pilgrim people of God. It is a holy nation, dwelling for a season in the midst of this world with its sin and suffering, but looking forward in hope to that glorious consummation for which we pray, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. 22:20).

Thus it would appear that Barth is correct in the order he follows in setting forth the various aspects of the doctrine of creation. God's Commandment is derived from the doctrine of God, the Creator, and Providence. Christian ethics is seen to be one part of Christian theology. The obedience of the Christian man is not isolated from his faith in God who does all things well. Christian ethics is called to make clear the action of a believer who lives in eschatological expectation and who waits in faith for the coming of that day when the "kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. 11:15).

While Christians live in this world they are cautioned not to be of this world. The Church's members are "called out" (*ekklēsia*) of this world to serve God in the world. "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world," said Christ, "but that thou shouldst keep them from evil" (John 17:15). The Church, therefore, is a colony of heaven in the midst of time; a building of God in an evil age; a *civitas Dei* witnessing in faith and hope and love in the *civitas terrena.*

Further, the witness of the Church in the world must be similar to the witness of God in the world. Jesus Christ is "the faithful and true witness" for him in this present time. Jesus Christ looks to his Church to make a testimony for him in the spirit of service and sacrifice. Like her Lord, the Church, too, must give herself as "a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45). The Church, therefore, is the servant of the Word of God and is called to obey the Word, to be a channel of the Word, and to testify to the truth of the Word in the world.

Thus the sum of the whole matter concerning the doctrine of creation is that within creation God calls forth a people for his own glory, the Church, which manifests both the creating and recreating power of the Word of God. Moreover, even as the Word of God was the one by whom God "made the worlds" (Heb. 1:2), so by this living Word he sustains the world, and by his victorious Word he will consummate his own purpose of love in that Kingdom that shall know no end. Therefore, the Christian doctrine of the world is inseparable from the doctrine of the Word of God.

The Authority of the Bible

GEORGE JOHNSTON

Almost four hundred and fifty years ago the Fathers of the Reformed Churches appealed from Roman Pope to Holy Bible, from ecclesiastical tradition to the divine Scriptures, in the conviction that all churchmen, be they bishops or theologians, be they General Councils or conventicles of the faithful in parts remote, Christians at whatever stage of wisdom and sanctity, all alike must stand under the rule of faith contained in the Canon of the Old and New Covenants. They thought that polity in the Church Catholic, dogma, and even a man's daily behaviour should be governed by biblical norms. As a result, translations of the Bible were rapidly made available in the vulgar tongues of Europe, and this year we gratefully celebrate the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Authorized or King James Version. Here is reason enough for us to consider afresh the authority of the Bible.

At the same time, there has been a dramatic revival in our time of Bible study and of what is called biblical theology. For the former, perhaps the struggle of the Confessional Church in Germany during the Nazi regime, together with the influence of its witness through its martyrs (for example, Paul Schneider of Buchenwald) and its representatives within the Ecumenical Movement (beginning at the first World Conference of Christian Youth, Amsterdam, 1939), has been largely responsible. For the latter, a tremendous debt is certainly owed to Dr. Karl Barth. Throughout the world there is a growing desire among the laity of the churches to study the Scriptures, and many fruitful methods are being tried. Part of the reason for this resurgence may lie in the challenge to the Christian understanding of life that is offered by scientific secularism or by godless existentialism or by the waning school of Logical Positivism in philosophy. Other reasons may be found in the urgent tensions in what used to be called the Foreign Mission fields, and also in the vitality of competing faiths and cults in Africa and Asia. At any rate there has been a reaction to a certain type of arid biblical scholarship in which the research of theology has taken priority over the needs of true religion. The younger generation has revolted against a kind of "liberalism" that seems to have produced complete scepticism and relativism. It is no longer good enough for such students that academics should busy themselves with the minutiae of textual or historical criticism, in such a way that the classical period of early Christianity is submerged in a sea of contemporary mystery cults and pagan philosophies. It must now be shown (if possible) how and why Christianity is the final revelation, the one hope of the entire world, and is thus

the faith that ought to embrace all the living faiths of mankind. For such a purpose the Bible is indispensable, although some scholars will rightly insist that more than the Bible is necessary.

This is the context, then, in which we have to place the interesting and difficult subject of this paper.

I

We have to begin, however, with some statements about the nature of Christianity itself, for in my judgment we are really asking questions about the authority of the Bible for Christianity. When we know what that is, we may also have an inkling of its authority for the world at large.

Christianity, I take it, is a religion of gracious personal relationships between the unseen but real Creator of the universe and mankind. It is concerned therefore with the "I–Thou" realm. It is a religion of Spirit, not a mechanical thing to be manipulated by impersonal devices. How do I know this? I come to know it within the believing community first of all, even before I learn to read the biblical documents with understanding. It is introduced to me in the liturgy of the Church's worship and in many acts of its loving concern. Later I come to appropriate something of this more fully in the Church School and the catechumens' class. On maturity within the faith I come to have a fairly clear notion of what the Church means when it tells me that I have become part of the very life of Christ, our living Lord.

The gracious element is primarily the outgoing loving care of God our Maker, whose world is here provided for us, whose Church also prevents us (in the older usage of that word). "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (John 1:17), but this grace did not originate in the year of our Saviour's birth. Hosea knew of divine grace, and so did Abraham (or whoever told his saga). This divine *agape* or love is not confined to the provision of the means of existence. Rather it is most like itself when it acts to help men and women to be true, kind, humble, and obedient to God; when it welcomes prodigals; when it inspires them to creative life in the future. For men are usually proud, self-centred, cruel, and disobedient to the divine will. So grace seeks to make men like God, in whose image their true life was made. They are to treat one another graciously, not exploiting each other or enslaving their brethren. They must learn also to act graciously even toward God himself, not trying to make use of him for their own convenience (as if they could!), not pressing demands on him instead of saying, "Thy will be done," not turning him into an image or an idol. Men are to "love" the Lord their God with all their heart and mind and strength, and also to "love" their neighbours responsibly. Grace affects us in the totality of our life (home, school, church, nation, business, sex, and so on), and in all our tenses (from here to eternity).

Now in saying "all our tenses" we are to think only in terms of "personal Time." In the world of physical reality there are tenses of "before" and

"after," of cause and effect. There seems to be no invasion of the present by the future. It is the self-conscious mind or spirit that makes all the difference here, and this is something absolutely and inalienably "real" for every sane, rational human being. "I am, and so I think and will and feel. . . . I am, and so I know that I know that I am." This is what it means to be personal. We live in a present tense that holds our entire past within it and, if Jung be correct, the entire past of the human race too in some fashion. But our present time also, provided it is normal and healthy, always turns itself to, and is partly invaded by, all the futures imaginable. One commonly says that purpose in life can be discerned only as we look back; yet prophetic minds can detect what is going to happen, given certain stabilities. Purpose points men forward, and man needs to look ahead. The young want to become old and mature. The clever want to write books, or dominate politics, or achieve fame, or in some way "fulfill themselves." There appears to be no "meaning" in life if there be no open future, no goal, no end. When there is such a *telos* or goal, then our present is wondrously altered and given substance. "Future" means "not yet present" to us as living beings. In our own dimension of time at least, it has not taken place, and so we must insist that there is always an open future. We are not "determined" or bound by fate. Real choices may be made by us, and redemption is always possible. Otherwise there could be no forgiveness of sin. The Christian religion, with its strong sense of our freedom for the future, a future guaranteed by the love that is God, is thus the custodian of hope. It retains optimism because it believes in the living God who has embodied our spirits in bodies and tied our immortal minds to the finite realm of flesh and blood.

Since all the universe is the work of God's hands, it is clearly ours to enjoy. We are given opportunities in Christianity for the adoration of the Creator, and we are taught right at the beginning that our nature derives from his. We are to become makers ourselves; we are to explore and master the world of "things"; but again this must be done with a full appreciation that grace is regulative. Things too are to be loved. We are to incorporate all science and all the arts into our way of life, not separating morality off as if religion dealt only with some aspects of personal relations. It may take a St. Francis to remind us of such truths, but let us remember that he was a product, in some sense, of the Catholic Church.

This point about *things* is important, because it means that we have to be careful in our attitude to what may be called the "I–It" realm. It will shortly appear that the Bible as the product of the printing press is very largely a "thing," and we have to discover how things are related to the free personal world of Spirit.

Persons communicate by rational speech, by a variety of "I–Thou" meetings, by co-operation in common enterprises, and by deliberate sharing of the inner life. Persons "reveal" themselves. Christianity like Judaism

teaches that God himself communicates with his creature, man—by mystical vision, by encounters with mysteries, but also through mediators: priests, prophets, kings, teachers, parents, and friends. This does not imply, however, that things cannot be used for personal communication. Tokens and symbols of many kinds may be employed; and everyone knows what a "love letter" is. In similar ways, we believe, God may touch our spirits through the world out there, in the wonder and the joy of elevated thought, and in specially significant customs that have come down from older times. Certain symbolic acts are said to be sacraments in a way that the universe or any part of it may not be (although they may well be "sacramental"). That is to say, in the Christian life sacraments convey divine blessings: water in Baptism, bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, the Eucharist. And if they are not sacraments in quite the same way, the following have become very precious sacramental media for many believers: the vestments embroidered by loving hands; the episcopal hands laid lovingly and prayerfully on the heads of the young or the ordinand; the minister's or priest's hands raised in benediction; the stone or wood or glass or marble that furnishes houses of worship. By means of such things the divine Spirit and the human spirit may come into gracious contact.

The Bible is a library of documents manufactured for the service of God and man. It is the product of many human minds and hearts, and thus by the marvels of memory and learning it may be for us a treasury of personal witness, a sacramental thing.

II

Before we proceed farther along that avenue of thought, we have to notice that Christianity, as well as being a system of personal relations in grace, is a religion rooted and grounded in history. Its centre is an embodied human life. Its distinctive articles of faith concern what Dr. Herbert Farmer has called the "inhumanizing" or the "inhistoricizing" of God. Jesus of Nazareth, it is claimed, is Emmanuel, "God with us," and the "eternal Logos" dwelt among men in the tent that is flesh (John 1:14). There has never been a time when the Church was content to assert the ascended glory of Christ at the expense of the earthly life of Jesus. Every eucharistic celebration has at its heart a recital of what happened (as well as what disciples think to be the significance of what happened) "on the night in which he was betrayed," and it has ever to repeat in some translation what Jesus said in Hebrew or Aramaic in that upper room so long ago. The words and acts of Jesus Christ are central.

Why is this so? The answer is of course that the earliest disciples encountered God in meeting him; he mediated to them the future of God's blessed Kingdom; he proved to them his own, and God the Father's victory over earthly death; and he conveyed to them the dramatic surging spiritual power of God that is called the Holy Spirit. And in all catholic tradition

and faith these same realities become true for new disciples, whose sin is made sinful in his light but through him is pardoned and beaten down.

Because this has been so throughout the Christian centuries, the words of Jesus Christ have been accepted as the Word of God himself, the communication of truth, wisdom, duty, hope, and life. They have taken precedence inevitably over the Old Testament, which Jesus and his disciples accepted already as a record of divine revelation. True, the words of Jesus and the events of his life were not set down by himself. True, the hope he brought of an imminent Kingdom of glory and the failure of that hope have affected the records. Nevertheless it was not possible for Christianity to exist apart from a written witness about the things most surely believed among the first apostles. The Church gradually annexed certain documents to the Old Testament, and by A.D. 400 it had pretty well settled what should suffice it.

The unique coming of the divine, the Son (as theology says), into history as a man, makes all future men dependent on the disciples' witness to his God-manhood. That is what the apostolic gospels and letters give us. Once given, and accepted by the catholic judgment of the Church, they must stand over against all false documents, all inadequate testimonies, and all new-fangled claims in subsequent centuries. We are tied to the Word in the Man. Once given and recognized, of course, this written witness stands over the institutions, the teachers, and the doctrinal formulations of the Church itself. It will not do to assert that the Bible is the Church's book, made in it and for it, *as if this could mean that Jesus Christ was invented by the Church*. There truly was a man in the flesh, as the writer of the First Epistle of John insists, and apart from his real person there would be neither Bible nor Church. He makes both possible. Woe betide the Church if, in liturgy, sermon, or doctrine, it depart from the scriptural word, already accepted by the consentient witness and action of the Catholic Church itself! In fact, however, the Bible belongs *with* liturgy and the sermon and the doctrine. It is false to separate the written word from the ongoing tradition. But clearly the written Gospel must be primary; the Church itself is committed to this principle by its own act of declaring what is the Canon.

From this historical point of view, then, the Bible necessarily plays a unique and holy role in the religious life of the loving community and the gracious (or would-be gracious) men and women who are and who call themselves Christians. We read how the way was prepared, and what happened once the Way and the Truth had suffered in our human time for our human folly and sin. We are not allowed illusions about perfect holiness in the earliest churches. They were not as united as they should have been; they turned out a measure of frauds, heretics, and other sinners in despite of Jesus Christ. And that must be possible, if the God of Jesus Christ is himself grace, himself loving, not brute power. The authority of the Bible is that of a record that traces the ways of God with man, and his purpose for man and the universe.

III

How is this Bible related to the gracious personal system that we have affirmed Christianity to be?

First, we can say that Scripture should not be regarded as a collection of infallible oracles, since that would hinder any *contemporary* meeting between the Lord God and mankind. There is no magic in the Bible that transforms it into a tape-recorder of the divine address to men.

Next, we must allow that the Bible needs translation and interpretation. It is the product of many centuries. Its Oriental setting must be quite unfamiliar to many students. It is thus not possible just to pick up any version, in English or any other tongue, and assume that what is read is the literal voice of God. Nothing must be allowed to blind us to the values of constructive textual and historical criticism. Words change their meaning in Hebrew and Aramaic and Greek, as in English; and only research and academic study can help us to be accurate.

Again, certain books had much trouble entering into the Canon, since the Church remained doubtful about them. To this day, therefore, we are bound to feel that 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude, and Revelation are not as useful as the rest of the New Testament. There is at least an aura of uncertainty about some of them, and no one should try ungraciously to push their claims on reluctant readers. Esther in the Old Testament, and such other features as the divine punishments on Canaanite tribes or the cursing psalms, cause us difficulty. No revived biblicism should be allowed to reinstate these as if they were the Word of God because they are in the Bible! The edges of the Canon are, as even Dr. Karl Barth would agree, "ragged."

On the other hand, it is useful for a liberal scholar to say publicly that matters of date, authorship, locale, and so on are not in every case very important when we are looking for help in the spiritual life. The biblical documents express human travail, lack of faith, false religion, defeat, and also, joy, peace, and genuine communications with the divine world. May we go farther?

Christians hear the living Lord, Jesus Christ, speak when the Gospels are read aloud or in quiet. He commands their love and loyalty, he strikes at their conscience, yet never with any immoral coercion. Similarly God moves their minds to learn spiritual wisdom or to perceive truth as they overhear Paul speaking to some young church, or "Peter" giving comfort, or "John" acclaiming the great love in God. It may happen in the reading and study of Genesis or Leviticus or of one of the Prophets; and it is always happening to someone.

This biblical token of a divine presence and a divine word is clearly not some simple thing. It demands understanding. We have to think historically. We need to penetrate the poet's mind, or the mystic's, or the saint's. Yet, given our work upon the text, our prayers with the Church

and in the Church, and our faith in God, there are personal meetings of the divine Spirit with us that are made possible by the Bible. Printed by a machine, bound and sold in the shops of men, containing errors of various kinds, this book none the less becomes for some readers a true means of grace.

This is the consentient testimony of humble believers, of heroic saints, of brilliant theologians, of all sorts of men and women in many lands and many generations. May it not also be true of the non-Christian reader, then, that this book may for him become a mode of communication with God? He must be willing to take the Bible seriously and to let it say its own word to him. He must not be put off by well-meaning apologists who want to ram the "inspiration" of the Bible down his throat; what is "gracious" about such a procedure? He needs to be enabled to see the Bible within the context of a genuinely catholic, loving Church that seeks the good of all mankind. Given that, the Bible is well able to take care of its own "authority."

"Returning unto the Lord"

G. GERALD HARROP

THE USE of the verb *shûbh* for the act and fact of conversion is characteristically Hebrew. For this word comes from concrete, profane speech.[1] Its meaning in this speech is abundantly clear in its first occurrence at Genesis 3:19 where Adam is told that the curse of toil will be upon him "unto your return" (*shûh ekha* to the ground:

> because from it you were taken—
> for—dust you are
> and into dust shall you return (*tāshûbh*).

This basic meaning of the word is perhaps even more evident in Genesis 37:29–30 where it is twice used to indicate Reuben's "return" to the pit, followed by his "return" to his brothers. The basic meaning is also clear in Jeremiah 3:1 where the prophet asks if a man will "return" to a wife whom he has divorced, if she has married another.

The word *shûbh,* then, usually used with one of the prepositions translated "into," "unto," "upon" or "to,"[2] clearly denotes movement back toward an earlier place or state. It is usually translated "return." When the word is used of a movement of the spirit of the people toward (or away from) the Lord, or of the Lord toward (or away from) the people, we have what William L. Holladay in his exhaustive lexical study calls the "conventional usage" of the verb and its derivatives.[3]

Our investigation of the word and concept will be in reverse chronological order, for in this way we move from simplicity to complexity.[4] In the post-exilic period, the teachers of the theocracy make "returning unto the Lord" little more than a liturgical act, or a concrete response to an institutional religious appeal of the "pay and pray" variety only too familiar to the modern churchgoer!

Characteristic of post-exilic prophecy is the type of oracle designated "Admonition" in form-criticism. Malachi 3:6–12 is an Admonition cast in the form of a dialogue between "the Lord of Hosts" and "the sons of

1. H. W. Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Propheten," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 48/2, p. 132. In only about one-tenth of its occurrences, says Wolff, does *shûbh* refer to a spiritual relationship with Yahweh. He contends that, on the other hand, the related verbs *dārash* and the intensive forms of *bāqash* are "at home in cultic speech" (p 131).

2. Wolff, p. 133. *Shûbh* occurs by itself 30 times, as against 98 times with one of the prepositions, in what Holladay would call "covenantal" contexts.

3. W. W. Holladay, *The Root Shûbh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 2 *et passim.*

4. It is to be hoped that the development of the *shûbh*-concept will be best understood if we move from simpler to more difficult meanings, even though this requires us to move backwards in time.

Jacob." In answer to the divine appeal: "Return unto me, and I will return unto you" (3:7), the people ask: "In what shall we return?" (*bammēh nāshûbh*). This "return" is to consist of the full payment of tithes and offerings because the whole community has been "robbing" God (v. 8). The result of such a "return," the prophet says, might well be an "overflowing blessing"—the end of the locust plague and the recognition of Israel by all nations as "a land of delight" (vv. 11–12).

A similar situation meets us in the Admonitions which make up the prophecy of Haggai. This book, incidentally, is the only one in the Old Testament which does not use the word *shûbh* in any of its forms.[5] Yet the post-exilic pattern is there. Blessing and prosperity will come when the community responds to the appeal to build the temple (2:15–19). Zechariah, Haggai's contemporary, seems to make "return unto me and I will return to you" (1:3) a kind of slogan which summarizes the word of his predecessors in the prophetic office. His concern, expressed in his visions, is with institutional reconstruction and rebuilding.

In Joel, a prophecy notoriously difficult to date,[6] the "return unto me" (*shûbh 'ēlay*) (2:12) is clearly a call to a liturgical act of confession and repentance. Joel is aware that it is the rending of the heart, not the tearing of the clothes, that will make repentance real (2:13); yet the emphasis is clearly on a public demonstration to which the call must be made so urgent that it will bring bride and bridegroom from their chambers and drive the priest to intercession between the vestibule and the altar (2:17). The whole community, from the elders to the nursing children, must respond to the call for a solemn assembly (2:15–16). A favourable response to the prophet's call is the condition of a possible ("who knows?," 2:14) divine response and blessing described in 2:19ff.

The post-exilic nature of the return unto the Lord is manifest in the book of Jonah. Here the word is used both for the Ninevites' "turning" from their evil ways and for Yahweh's "turning" from his threatened judgment (3:19–10). In Jonah *shûbh* cannot be translated "return" in the covenantal sense as its application is to heathen. As in Joel, *shûbh el-Yahweh* is a mass act of contrition and confession, accompanied with fasting and the wearing of sackcloth.

In the post-exilic period, then, *shûbh* appears characteristically in the Admonition, in an institutionally religious context, and its precise import is usually quite evident. "Return unto me and I will return unto you" is not unlike the calls to national prayer, confession, and intercession with which we became familiar during the darker days of the Second World War.

5. Note the omission of *shûbh* in the rather careless reproduction of Amos 4:9 in Haggai 2:17. Some form of *shûbh*, however, must have once been in the Hebrew text for LXX reads: *kai ouk epestrepsate pros me, legei Kurios*, which follows LXX Amos, except for a tense change.

6. Cf. J. A. Thompson, in *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. VI, p. 732: "Proposals for the date of Joel vary from the tenth to the second centuries B.C." See also all the other commentaries. But most agree on a post-exilic date.

When we move back to Ezekiel we find that the meaning of *shûbh* is not nearly so easy to comprehend. Form-critical classification of Ezekiel 18, and the nearly parallel 33:10–20, is exceedingly difficult. This passage is a combination of the Admonition, the eschatological Salvation Oracle, and the casuistic legal pericope. The appeal, "return ye . . . , return ye . . ." (*shûbhû . . . , shûbhû . . .*), in 33:11, calls for a concrete forsaking of the legally proscribed transgressions enumerated in 33:5 (cf. 18:6–18). But this appeal is made in the context of a choice between "life" and "death." It is demanded of the sinner that he get for himself "a new heart and a new spirit" (18:30–31). In 36:26, however, it is made plain that this new creation is to be graciously given by Yahweh. When the sinner, thus divinely enabled, forsakes his transgressions of the Torah commandments, he shall live. Thus in Ezekiel 18 and 33 (cf. also chapter 36) Law and Gospel are firmly joined together. The invitation to "turn" and "live" (for "why will you die?") can be given (indeed it is the life-and-death responsibility of the prophet to give it) because Yahweh has made the impossible possible. The sinner, dying in his sin, can live. As we move back to Ezekiel, we move from the bare, institutional appeal of the later prophets to deeper ground. The concrete act envisaged, it is true, is hardly more than the cessation of crimes against the Torah. But this turning from "wicked ways" is seen in a life-and-death context which takes seriously the depth of human involvement in sin and death, and the human impossibility of the *shûbh el-Yahweh*. *Shûbh* in Ezekiel is usually translated *turn* rather than *return* because there seems to be here no implication of regaining a lost estate.

In the two relevant passages of Deutero-Isaiah—44:22 and 55:6–7—the appeal to "return" is firmly embedded in what form-criticism calls the Salvation Oracle. The salvation proclaimed in this type of prophetic pronouncement is always associated with divine eschatological intervention. Thus, in the former of the two passages, the appeal to return is based on the assertion that Yahweh has redeemed his people, sweeping away their trangressions and sins like clouds and mist. In the more familiar chapter 55 the same situation appears. Here the divine, redeeming action is pictured as the going forth of an irresistible word (v. 11). Because of this going forth Yahweh, at the moment, is "near" and "may be found."[7] As in Ezekiel the "return" here consists of a forsaking of the "way" and "thoughts" of the wicked (v. 7). In Deutero-Isaiah it is undoubtedly connected with the actual physical return of the exiles.

Isaiah 40–55 is indeed almost one long Salvation Oracle, and it is in the context of Yahweh's saving deed wrought through Cyrus that the invitation to return is given. Indeed Yahweh himself returns to his land in his people's homeward pilgrimage. The highway to be made "straight in the desert" is a "highway for our God" (40:3). In Yahweh's redeeming

7. In 49:8, a passage made familiar to the church by Paul's use of it in 2 Cor. 6:2, Deutero-Isaiah again refers to this concept of the "right moment."

activity, now manifest in history, is the possibility of return unto him revealed. This is at the same time a physical and politico-military event, a holy pilgrimage, and a spiritual renewing.

In Jeremiah the possibility of conversion is, over and over again, bluntly rejected. If the African native can change the colour of his skin, or the leopard the markings on his coat, then, and only then, can the people who are used to doing evil do good (13:23). Jeremiah uses the verb *shûbh* in its pure sense of "return"—in his case to the type of Yahweh-Israel relationship that he believed prevailed in the early days of the covenant in the wilderness (2:2–3 and other texts). The "good way" is found amid the "ancient paths" (6:16) to which the people refuse to look. Therefore their chance of returning has gone. Here we have no "acceptable time," no "day of salvation" for the prophet's generation, but only the bleak assurance that the day of opportunity has passed like a summer and harvest whose bounty has been left standing in the desolate fields (8:20). In the face of Yahweh's harshest judgments the people have hardened their faces like rock and refused to return (*me'anû lāshûbh* [5:2]). Therefore Yahweh, having spoken, having determined upon it, has not relented, nor will he "turn from" his final judgment (4:28). For the northern kingdom, already judged and in exile, there is a Salvation Oracle and an invitation to return (3:11–14),[8] but for post-Josianic Judah there is nothing but the darkness of the coming judgment (cf. also 18:12ff. and 35:17b).

In 36:1–3 it might seem that Jeremiah did hold out some hope for the nation. This single quotation, from a prose account, can hardly be used to qualify the clear intent of the oracles themselves. Whatever hope he had was eschatological. Judgment and exile must come. The end of the nation is at hand. The Salvation Oracles introduced with the formula, "Behold, the days are coming . . ." (23:5, 7; 31:31, 38), are often denied to Jeremiah. But it is not necessary to sacrifice their authenticity in the interest of Jeremiah's consistency. For they are clearly eschatological. Whatever hope there is lies beyond the inevitable cataclysm. His own purchase of the ancestral estate also testifies to this kind of hope. But for his own people in their day he has but one word. It is the word of judgment and destruction because they have refused to repent.

Jeremiah was in many ways the heir of Hosea. The earlier prophet also idealized the wilderness period and it is to the conditions which (he believed) prevailed then that the nation must return (2:15). It is difficult to say whether or not Hosea held out any hope of conversion. When Israel says in 2:9 (Hebrew text): "I will go and return to my first husband" the prospect presented in the suceeding verses is only judgment. Yet, if there is no reason to deny Hosea the Salvation Oracle of 2:16ff. (and I believe there is none) there is indeed hope held out for a time of mercy beyond

8. Jer. 3:22–23, in which all the changes are run on *shûbh*, also probably refers to "Israel" in the political sense.

the coming judgment (see especially v. 23). In 14:1–3 there is a direct appeal to "return." This return is to be by verbal confession ("take words with you and return") and not sacrificial cultic observance. Verse 2 apparently contains the liturgical prayer of "return."[9] On the whole, however, Hosea's pages are dominated by the oracles of judgment. The almost hopelessly corrupt state of the text contributes to the difficulty of discovering exactly what he did teach on this or any other subject.

In Isaiah the possibility of conversion is reserved for the "holy seed" of 6:13. The very burden of the prophetic proclamation is to confirm the insensate mass in its blindness, deafness, and stupidity and thus prevent its turning to be healed (6:10). The name of the prophet's son *Sh^{e}'ar Yāshubh* (7:3) is a promise to the remnant (*sh^{e}'ar*), the holy seed, but a word of judgment and doom to king and people.[10] For the nation has spurned the word of the Holy One of Israel who has said: "In returning (*b shûbhā*) and rest you will find your deliverance" (30:15). Wolff argues that for Isaiah conversion is no real possibility.[11] To maintain this it is necessary to translate and interpret the familiar 1:18 as something like ironic contempt: "Come now, let us be reasonable; can your sins, crimson red as they are, really and truly become white like snow—just like that?" This kind of rendering is indeed possible. But the succeeding verses do seem to present a real choice: "If you are willing and obey . . . but if you refuse and rebel . . ." Isaiah 1:18 read in the light of the two succeeding verses, and the Salvation Oracle with which the first chapter concludes (1:24–31)[12] prevent us from adopting too easily the position that this prophet's word is pure doom. For Isaiah conversion would not be a "return" to an idealized past but a reformation in the corporate life of the people (1:16–17).

It would almost seem that Isaiah deliberately avoids the word *shûbh*. In the whole of Isaiah 1–39 the verb occurs but six times and the noun *shûbhā* but once. Of these, three occurrences are in the passages of doubtful authenticity (10:21; 19:22, and 31:6) and one (1:27) is also sometimes doubted. This leaves us with 6:10, 9:13, 30:15, and the name *Sh^{e}'ar Yāshûbh* (7:3). All three undoubtedly genuine occurrences are in oracles of judgment, and the name carries a double promise-threat intent.[13]

In Amos *shûbh* occurs five times in chapter 4 in the identical phrase which follows the recital of Yahweh's warning deeds. I sent famine, drought, blight, pestilence, invasion—"yet you did not return unto me." Only the use of *shûbh's* near synonym, *dārash* (seek, search for), in 5:4–6 keeps us from declaring dogmatically that there is a total absence of the possibility

9. In Hos. 14:2 read "fruit" with LXX and Syr. (so RSV) instead of MT "bull."
10. Holladay, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
11. Wolff, p. 138: "Umkehr ist keine reale Möglichkeit für Israel; sie gehört darum als Thema ausschliesslich in die Gerichtsverkündigung."
12. The authenticity of this passage is questioned by those interpreters who rule out *a priori* the possibility that Isaiah held out any hope whatsoever for the future.
13. Holladay, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–125.

of conversion in Amos. In Micah there is but one appearance of *shûbh* (2:4) and no indication of the possibility of conversion.

It would appear from the foregoing that the word *shûbh*, and the concept of conversion which is intimately associated with this word, did undergo some development in the history of the prophetic literature. This must be said despite the currently popular minimizing of the idea of development in biblical theology. In Amos, Micah, and Isaiah the word is found in the Oracle of Judgment. This is true also of the characteristic and indisputably authentic oracles of Hosea and Jeremiah. But the latter two collections, as we have them, do contain Salvation Oracles with the invitation to "return unto the Lord," as does Ezekiel. In Deutero-Isaiah the formula is firmly embedded in the Salvation Oracle. This does not mean that Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah deny their predecessors' insistence on the inability of the leopard to change its spots. They, especially Deutero-Isaiah, proclaim the saving act of the God who makes the impossible possible. In the prophets of the post-exilic theocracy, conversion is institutionally conceived and propagated. In them *shûbh el-Yahweh* becomes little more than an appeal to come to church, do penance, offer sacrifices, bring tithes and offerings, build, work, pray, etc.

It is, of course, only too easy to be critical of the institutional preoccupation of the teachers of the theocracy. What we have here is an attempt to make concrete what was difficult for them, and is difficult for us, to understand and to do. At the same time, it would be fatal for the church to limit her understanding of what it means to "return unto the Lord" within the context of the institutional appeal. In the earlier *shûbh*-oracles sin is indeed "unto death," and the appeal to "return" is an invitation to which response can be made, if at all, only in the light of the saving act and conquering the word of the Lord of Israel. In the church it must be clearly set in the context of the Cross and Resurrection, where the mortal power of sin is once for all destroyed.

Camus and Bonhoeffer on the Fall

PIETER DE JONG

In this article I intend to compare the thoughts of two modern men on the fall. One is an existentialist thinker who because of his books—mostly novels—has gained wide acclaim as an author. In 1956 he published *The Fall*,[1] for which in 1958 he received the Nobel Prize for Literature. The Frenchman Camus was born in 1913, a year before his father died in the battle of the Marne, and was brought up in Algeria where the environment and the Mediterranean climate made an indelible impression on him. He is called the philosopher of the absurd, and died in a motor accident. The other thinker is a theologian who has gone through existentialism and whose conclusion is that faith is closer to worldliness than to religiosity. His lectures on *Creation and Fall*[2] were published in 1937. The German Bonhoeffer not only wrote about, but actually paid, the cost of discipleship. In 1943 he was taken prisoner by the Gestapo, and he died the death of a martyr in 1945, at the age of thirty-nine.

The scene of Camus' book is Amsterdam. The author has a marvellous ability to describe the places where the characters of his novels live. But he who expects to read a glorification of the peculiar city with gabled roofs and ancient canals will be disappointed. Amsterdam, capital of the low land of which Voltaire once said that it was "un pays de canaux, canards et canaille," represents hell and is the opposite of Sicily with its mountains and heights, which for Camus is more like heaven. Amsterdam, on the edge of the European continent, in the season of autumn when the streets are wet and covered with yellow leaves, is the chosen city for the fall. On the shiny pavement, wrapped in fog, walk the people who fornicate and read the newspaper, representing fallen man. The Zuiderzee and the island of Marken, favourite tourist spot because of the quaint little houses and the national dress of the people, are singularly oppressive for Camus. He calls the island "the most beautiful negative landscape" because of the sand dunes surrounding it which close it off from the rest of the world. The Zuiderzee he calls the dead sea, "steaming like wet washing," suggesting the hopelessness of life without beginning or end.

We find the main character of his novel, Clamence, in one of the sailor cafés, called Mexico-City. There Camus finds the heart of Europe with

1. Albert Camus, *The Fall* (London, 1959). The original, *La Chute*, was published in 1956.

2. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Creation and Fall* (London, 1959). This book, of which the original appeared in 1937 under the title of *Schöpfung und Fall*, consists of a series of lectures on the theological interpretation of Genesis 1–3 given at the University of Berlin in the year 1932–33.

people flocking in from all parts of the continent. In the centre of the inner circle—the canals are so many concentric circles closing people in like hell—is the focal point of fallen life. Clamence is a remarkable character. He spends his days being a "judge-penitent." This means that he talks with various customers who come in for their drink of gin and before they notice it in the course of the conversation he has them crawling at his feet, overflowing with guilt feelings. The way in which he reaches this effect is by constantly confessing to them how bad and double-faced he is himself. It is a refined technique: "The portrait I hold out to my contemporaries becomes a mirror." He describes the procedure himself: "I stand before all humanity . . . saying 'I was the lowest of the low.' Then imperceptibly I pass from the 'I' to the 'we.' When I get to 'This is what we are,' the game is over and I can tell them off." (P. 103.)

Why does Clamence find pleasure in doing this? His answer: "I provoke you into judging yourself, and this relieves me of that much of the burden. . . . . . I dominate at last, but forever. Once more I have found a height to which I am the only one to climb and from which I can judge everybody. . . . How intoxicating to feel like God the Father and to hand out definitive testimonials of bad character and habits. I sit enthroned among my bad angels at the summit of the Dutch heaven and I watch ascending towards me as they issue from the fogs and the water, the multitude of the last judgment. . . ." (Pp. 104ff.) Clamence has fallen and this is his way out, the only kind of existence which makes life bearable.

From what did he fall? From the life of success and self-indulgence in Paris where at one time he was a lawyer. Life in Paris was his Eden where he was always on top of things. When facing the judges in defending his clients he actually felt above them, despising them. He would show concern for the orphan and the widow, defending them with good result and without charge, often giving them something extra to live on during the tough days ahead. There he bathed in self-esteem when the wife of a client would press his arm and assure him that nothing could ever repay what he had done for them. He helped blind people cross the street and went out of his way to show sympathy at funerals. He was well liked wherever he went, a symbol of success. Although he was not religious he felt singled out for such an unusual combination of qualities and virtues. And this life with lots of friends and parties went on "until the evening when the music stopped and the lights went out" (p. 24). That evening he was walking on one of the bridges of Paris, quite satisfied with the results of the day, when suddenly he heard laughter behind him although nobody was there. He became nervous and went home, but there, too, he heard it, under his windows. When he looked into the mirror that night, "it seemed to me," he says, "that my smile was double" (p. 30). He had a taste of hell where everyone is marked once for all, without possibility of change for the better. His mark: A charming Janus, double-faced.

Various events had led up to the experience of that evening on which he

had become aware of the acute dent in his self-esteem. One of the great blows to his superiority happened when a man struck his face while he was arguing politely with the driver of a motorcycle which had stalled in front of his car and could not move. The man had called him "silly ass," and from then on he had harboured resentment and feelings of vengeance so deep that he had to laugh at his own speeches in court while pleading for justice over against revenge. He had noticed once that he tipped his hat to a blind person. He also had to laugh at the untrue words spoken to his mistresses: "the act of love is a confession. Selfishness screams aloud, vanity shows off, or else true generosity reveals itself. . . . No man is a hypocrite in his pleasures." (P. 49.) But this laughter at himself was really an echo of what he had heard on the bridge that night, the laughter of awakened conscience, of shame that stings.

All this went back to an experience on the Pont Royal a few years before. Coming from a mistress he passed a woman who was leaning over the railing and by the time he had reached the Boulevard he heard the sound of her body striking the water and a few cries going downstream. He wavered for a few moments and then went on his way. "The next day," he says, "I didn't read the papers." (P. 53.) From then on he could not help looking at his life in a different light, because he had discovered the "basic duplicity of the human being" (p. 63). The cry heard over the Seine persecuted him all over the world. He heard it in the cry of the sea-gulls while making an ocean voyage later on in his life. Watching the water of the sea he was completely disturbed by a little speck which appeared to be nothing else than a bit of debris left behind by the ship. As for the laughter, it became perpetual. He had to suppress it even though it seemed impossible. Life from then on was like living in the "little-ease"—a torture cell used in the Middle Ages, too small to stand up straight or to lie down flat, in which "sleep was a collapse, and waking a squatting" (p. 82)—or in the spitting cell used by the Nazis, a box in which there is just enough room for people to stand while everyone passing by spits on them. This form of scorn by our fellow men is the last judgment taking place every day. Christ was the victim of it. The real reason why Jesus died, Clamence says, is that he could not go on living, for he knew he was guilty, guilty for the murder of the innocents. Therefore he did not defend himself as he knew that "crime consists less in making others die than in not dying oneself" (p. 84). His was a life in revolt. "He cried aloud his agony and that's why I love him, my friend who died without knowing. The unfortunate thing is that he left us alone, to carry on whatever happens, even when we are lodged in the little-ease, knowing in turn what he knew but incapable of doing what he did and of dying like him. . . . Oh, the injustice that has been done him! It wrings my heart." (P. 85.) What organized religion has done today is to hoist Christ onto the judge's bench. Christians and non-Christians alike condemn and "no one is ever acquitted any more" (p. 86).

Clamence himself is guilty of the very same thing. His penitence is misleading. He uses it for the purpose of judging and condemning others. In his effort to silence the laughter of his conscience he sees only one way out, to become an enlightened advocate of slavery, because freedom is too heavy to bear. "It's a chore, quite solitary and very exhausting. . . . The essential thing is to cease being free and to obey, in repentance, a greater rogue than oneself. . . . Death is solitary whereas slavery is collective." (P. 101.) Clamence learned on the bridges of Paris that he was afraid of freedom. "After having solemnly paid my respects to freedom, I decided privately that it had to be handed over without delay to anyone who comes along." (P. 102.) He is again on top of things and in this respect he has not become different. "I haven't changed my way of life; I continue to love myself and to make use of others. Only the confession of my crimes allows me to begin again lighter in heart and to taste a double enjoyment, first of my nature and secondly of a charming repentance." (P. 105.)

The ambiguity of this work of art is intriguing. The novel has been written in the form of a monologue, the most suitable manner to express man's self-centredness and lack of openness in his fallen state. In commenting on this book some have said that it is Camus' confession standing at the brink of the Christian faith.[3] They point to the awakening of conscience and the awareness of guilt. Tillich would call the novel profoundly religious in the sense of expressing ultimate concern. Many terms remind one of the language of the Bible. The full name of the main character is Jean-Baptiste Clamence. Does "Clamence" refer to the "vox clamans in deserto," as he says of himself that he is a "false prophet in the wilderness and refusing to come forth" (p. 108)? Or is it a play on words, reminding us of the French "clemence," meaning "mercy," which he does not possess in great measure. Several times he refers to the doves in the skies, which remain high up and do not seem to be able to descend on anybody except at the end of the story, when they come down and their feathers in the form of snowflakes wrap the streets of the city in a white blanket. The atmosphere of the fall seems gone and a new season has arrived. The language of the final pages is ecstatic; does it express the waiting for revelation? Hardships will be shared in real solidarity, something which Clamence never seemed to be able to accomplish. People will do what someone did while his friend was in prison: sleep on the floor. But the final lines show us that this is still far off. What would happen, Clamence asks, if the young lady would throw herself into the river again? "We'd have to go through with it. Brr. . .! The water's so cold! But let's not worry! It's too late now. It'll always be too late. Fortunately!" (P. 109.)

Others see in this novel mainly a protest against totalitarianism, an attack against modern forms of slavery. The ideas of guilt expressed to them are ironical and all Camus wants to do, they claim, is to show how guilt-

3. Cf. Philip Thody, *Albert Camus, a Study of his Work* (New York, 1957).

feelings lead many to surrender to people worse than themselves. The author, according to this interpretation, is still the unshocked humanist of his earlier works who continues the fight for justice and moderation.

For us it is neither the confession of a person who is "almost" a Christian nor simply a story through which the author wants to warn us against totalitarianism. It is a perfect description in artistic form of man's emancipation. Clamence before the fall is man waking up to his own possibilities, man of the renaissance, confident of himself and certain of his conquests. He is man at home in the world. His self-esteem has not yet been shocked and although he is not outspokenly religious he can fit religion into his life: Clamence looks upon himself as chosen. God is still the conclusion to the argument and is tolerated, as he fits into the picture. This is no longer true after he has wakened up to the awareness of the basic split in his life. Such a god must be thrown overboard since life does not make sense any longer. Then it happens—as Dostoyevsky has said—that if God no longer exists we ourselves become god. Clamence before the fall reminds us of idealist and romantic man still living the life of his dreams, but Clamence after the fall is twentieth-century post-Christian man, disillusioned and alone in this universe. He is the man who has lived through two world wars and daily feels the threat of the cold war, who is afraid of his freedom and apt to switch from autonomy to heteronomy, to domination by others because he is tired of making decisions. The book is undoubtedly a witness to the dangers of totalitarianism and its temptation for modern man, but it is this against the background of a profound analysis of human nature and of man's growing up which suggests a development in Camus' own thought. In *The Stranger* the main character, Meursault, is almost a piece of nature without feeling except for the physical, man as part of the absurd or rather the victim of it. In *The Plague* Dr. Rieux fights against the meaninglessness of life in the form of a disease. The plague has been identified as the Nazi occupation, which is one of the expressions of the absurdity of life, but at the same time it is asserted that the plague is in all of us. In *The Fall* Clamence is involved in life to such an extent that he is guilty of the same things of which he accuses others in the struggle for meaning and values. The picture is much less simple and it is quite probable that it indicates a development in the life and thought of Camus himself at the same time. Man cannot live on the same level as nature, but must fight in order to give meaning to life. He must help his fellow men in solidarity but is unable to do so. When he seems to get close to it he is not pure in his motivation. He remains basically self-centred; he is in constant escape and the more he realizes it the more refined his escape becomes. It is an escape from himself because he cannot face the brokenness of his life. In reality man has a Janus-face even in the most plausible of his pursuits. This is the cause of his utter loneliness, which he tries to cover up, first by means of pretended sincerity and concern which is merely self-concern in disguise, and then, when he wakes up to

the fall, by plain domination of his fellow men. But actually he remains alone, incapable of real solidarity and love, unless. . . .

The worst thing a theologian can possibly do is to state that someone who has given a thorough analysis of human life is almost a Christian. It is not true to the artist's intention, and the theologian both evades his criticism and fails to gain from the artist some of the most valuable insights into his contemporary world. To say that Camus is on the brink of Christianity can close our eyes to his sharp criticism of organized religion. Many a Christian in reading this book should know himself judged for using the Christian religion to cover up the breach in his own life instead of allowing it to be healed. In the Church, too, we can escape ourselves in our efforts to escape God, using religiosity for this purpose. We must take seriously Camus' approach that the acquittal is not heard even within the Church, because we often neglect to make clear the meaning of God's forgiveness. Preaching the Christian religion as a method of self-improvement inevitably leads to a condemnatory attitude.

The danger of temptation is that it comes in a religious form, says Bonhoeffer.[4] The serpent's question directed to Eve did not begin with a flat denial of God; God's existence is presupposed. It almost reads: "Granted that there is a God, don't you think that he would be of a different type from the kind that forbids something, someone more merciful and indulgent?" The real temptation is to get behind the word of God.[5] In giving in to this urge fallen man puts himself in the place of God and becomes man *sicut deus*, like God. "But the serpent said to the woman, 'You will not die. For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil'."[6] Both the Old Testament and the New begin with a temptation story. Temptation is abandonment, not just testing one's strength in the moral sense. Thus the Old Testament begins with the story of Adam who was tempted and fell; the New with the story of Jesus who was tempted and who with the help of God's Word overcame Satan. Adam became like God and died; Christ was the Image of God and brought life and immortality to light.

Comparing these thoughts of Bonhoeffer with what we have read in Camus, we must say that Clamence is the very picture of man "like God, knowing good and evil." The words "tob," good, and "ra," evil, says Bonhoeffer, mean much more than the morally good and bad. They include pleasure and pain, which in this life are inseparable, just as the evil and the good. "Knowing" means more than intellectual knowledge; it means living the split and broken life in which the evil is not without the good and the good is not without the evil; in which pleasure is not without pain and pain not without pleasure. The good in the evil is that it dies and the evil

4. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Temptation* (London, 1956), ch. I.
5. Bonhoeffer, *Creation and Fall*, p. 66.
6. Gen. 3:4f.

in the good is that it dies. The pain in pleasure is that it is short-lived and the pleasure in pain is that it is transitory. Man is divided and Clamence knows it. "Because I longed for eternal life, I went to bed with harlots and drank for nights on end. In the morning, to be sure, my mouth was filled with the bitter taste of mortal state." (P. 77.) Man living between good and evil knows what death is. This is the fate of man who is like God, man in the centre. But his waking up to it does not help him to overcome it. It only makes him look more intensively for a better escape. His conscience may bother him but at the same time it actually helps him to get farther and farther away from God, to be more and more like him, as Clamence felt himself the judge sitting on the throne. "Conscience," says Bonhoeffer, "is not the voice of God to sinful man; it is man's defence against it, but as this defence it points towards it, contrary to our will and knowledge." (P. 83.) By the perpetual laughter Clamence was forced to seek a more secure hiding-place, which caused him to fall all the more deeply. Realization of guilt becomes cause for increase of guilt. Kierkegaard called this the quantitative increase, once sin is presupposed.[7] The story of Clamence is the story of the first Adam. Of Clamence as of Adam we can say: his story is our story. But there is this decisive difference that "for us it begins where it ends for Adam. Our history is history through Christ where Adam's history is history through the serpent. But as those who only live and have a history through Christ, our imagination cannot help us to know about the beginning." (Bonhoeffer, p. 56.) The qualitative leap, Kierkegaard would say, cannot be explained. If we try it, we engage in vain speculation. "We can only know about it from the new middle, from Christ, as those who are freed in faith from the knowledge of good and evil and from death, and who make Adam's picture their own only in faith." (P. 57.)

Man in the centre, fallen man, is man without limit. Man in the image of God knows his limit as a creature, but fallen man denies his limitation. By limit we do not mean the edge or horizon of man's possibilities. Clamence in Paris, as a successful lawyer, does not realize his limit in the sense that there seems no end to his possibilities, just as man of the renaissance was going to conquer nature and subject the world around to himself. Today we are inclined to look on this kind of optimism as a bit naïve. Tillich[8] says of this type of man that essence has been swallowed up by existence. There is no gap between what is and what should be. The world and history for him are the realization of the divine will and can easily be recognized as such. But twentieth-century post-Christian man, when he speaks of limitless existence, thinks of the limit in the centre. The tree of knowledge, standing in the middle of the garden and forming a threat to the tree of life, symbolizes the truth that man's true limit is in the middle of his existence. God is the limit and the middle of life for man made in the image of God. The prohibition came to Adam as grace reminding

7. Søren Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Dread* (Princeton, 1946), ch. IV.
8. Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1957), p. 24.

him of this fact and caused rejoicing and gratitude. He received his life as a creature from the hands of God. But since he has gone behind the word of God and denied his limit he must live and really is not able to, as he is doomed to live from himself. The commandment is now experienced as law instead of grace, and this change makes life hell. Man in the centre has come to be without beginning or end, like the sea in the fog. And he cannot escape his situation. Both Bonhoeffer and Camus have dealt extensively with the problem of suicide. Camus does so in his *Myth of Sisyphus*, which he begins with the words: "There is but one truly serious philosophical problem, and that is suicide." In this book Camus rejects it as a solution because the absurd must be kept alive even if we do not see meaning it, just as Sisyphus patiently and courageously rolled the stone up the mountain even though he knew that when he reached the top it would tumble down and he would have to start all over. In *The Fall* Camus deals with suicide in an ironical manner, saying that it will not have the effect which it is usually intended to have, namely that of hurting one's friends. People will take off fly-fishing and forget all about it the next day. (P. 56.) For Bonhoeffer suicide evades the commandment to live by a self-chosen death, and "flight into death is flight into the most terrible servitude to life" (p. 55). In his *Ethics*[9] he pleads for a greater understanding of suicidal cases on the part of the Christian Church, on the ground that suicide should be understood as the last effort to give meaning to a meaningless life and an act of solitude whose ultimate decisive motives will always remain hidden. A person can only be kept from it if the commandment to live can be heard again as grace, that he *may* live. This can be known only from the new centre, and remains hidden to the man who himself stands in the middle. This new centre is the Christ who is not man like God, but man in the image of God, not man for whom commanding is breathing, as for Clamence, but the man who comes not to be served but to serve and give his life a ransom for many. The order for Bonhoeffer is: "Sicut deus—Imago Dei—Agnus Dei" and "Agnus Dei" is the "the One who was sacrificed for man sicut deus, killing man's false divinity in true divinity, the God-man who restores the image of God" (p. 72).

Man's limit in the biblical story of the fall is not only indicated by the tree of knowledge and the prohibition, but also by his helper, by Eve. Woman in the story of Genesis is man's limit which has taken on physical form; thus she helps man to bear his free life. Just as in the case of the prohibition, this ordinance works as long as woman is accepted as a token of God's grace. "Free life," says Bonhoeffer, "can only be borne in limitation if it is loved, and out of this mercy he [God] created a companion for man who must be at once the embodiment of Adam's limit and the object of his love" (p. 60). This positive aspect of sexuality is brought out clearly by Karl Barth in his theological anthropology,[10] which stresses

9. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics* (London, 1955), pp. 122ff.
10. Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, III/2, and III/4 (Zurich, 1951).

that man's being made male and female, in togetherness, is a reflection of God's togetherness within himself as the Three in One, and of his togetherness with his people in the Covenant of Grace. The image of God expresses the freedom for God in the freedom for the other, and because of this Paul can say that marriage is meant to symbolize the mystery of Christ and the Church. If the Bible is so positive about the meaning of the relationship between the sexes, how is it possible that in the Church and in the history of Christian thought so much has been written and said which contradicts this? Is it not true, even today, that for many people original sin is so tied up with sexual intercourse that it causes in an almost biological manner the sinfulness of the child. Kierkegaard warned against the idea by saying that sin is not transferred like cowpox.[11] It is not a matter of affected genes. Such misunderstanding is partly due to the influence of Hellenistic thought, which was basically dualistic.[12] This dualism was worked out in the dual standard of morality as it influenced monastic life. Too much of marriage ethics has been written in the monastery cell. Moralistic naturalism, on the other hand, has swung in the opposite direction under the influence of Sigmund Freud, who considers the sexual drive as practically the root of everything and isolates it from life as a whole.

We must begin by stating that sexuality is not sin. Kierkegaard said that it is only sin once sin is presupposed. But the truth in the association of sexuality with original sin points to something which is often overlooked, namely, the fact that the relationship between the sexes is a kind of test of the relationship with God and our fellow men. This does not mean that every Christian should be married. Christ was unmarried but he was a man in perfect freedom for his fellow men. On the other hand he who denies this limit, his central limit, has lost his freedom for the other person; he turns around himself like a top and is basically solitary. He has only one intention and that is to escape the claims of his fellow men, to be free from him instead of free for him. "There," says Bonhoeffer, "the power of life becomes the power of destruction, power of community becomes the power of isolation, power of love becomes power of hate" (p. 61). His freedom is actually slavery. Clamence is the very expression of man without limit. His mistresses are objects whom he wants to dominate and possess, and with whom he lives in an "I–it" relationship. What he does with his sex-drive expresses what he does in daily life with everyone: treating people like objects, using them to his advantage. "I lived my whole life under a double code, and my most serious acts were often the ones in which I was the least involved." (P. 66.) Sensuality dominated his love-life.

Once sin is presupposed sexuality becomes sensuality. Sensuality is both a form of self-love and an escape from it.[13] "I conceived at least one great

11. Kierkegaard, *Concept of Dread*, p. 35.
12. Cf. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vol. II (London, 1945), pp. 242ff.
13. Reinhold Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vol. II, p. 252.

love in my life," Clamence ironically admits, "of which I was always the object" (p. 44). In debauchery one possesses only oneself; therefore it is the pastime of those who are in love with themselves. At the same time Clamence must engage in this kind of life because it helps him to forget—temporarily—the laughter within. He says that sensuality can be compared with a long sleep, with a fog in which the laughter becomes so muffled that he can hardly hear it. But it will always come back. He must admit his dissatisfaction, and he even complains of a shame which stings. "Shame," says Bonhoeffer, "is the expression of the fact that we no longer accept the other person as the gift of God. Shame expresses my passionate desire for the other person and the knowledge that belongs to it that the other person is no longer satisfied just to belong to me but desires something from me. . . . Shame only comes into existence in the world of division." (P. 63.) This insight should determine our marriage-ethics. Too long marriage has been presented in the Church as well as outside, as the legal manner of channelling man's passions as medicine for immorality. Kierkegaard discerned the evil in this view: "It is a great stupidity to suppose that the wedding ceremony of the church, or the husband's fidelity in keeping himself to her alone is enough. Many a marriage has been profaned, and not by an outsider."[14] Clamence's story is not just of interest to a certain type of unmarried men; it is also the story of the married person, of the respectable family father, the story of Adam who was ashamed before Eve. But here we must say: this is not the whole story. The story of Adam ends where the story of Christ begins. "He who commits sin is a slave to sin," but "if the Son shall make you free you will be free indeed."[15] The freedom regained in Christ is the freedom to serve, the freedom of the "doulos Christou." This freedom is no longer hard to bear for his yoke is easy and his burden is light.

We have dealt with two reinterpretations of the fall. The remarkable thing we have noticed is that Bonhoeffer's work which appeared twenty years before that of Camus is almost a theological commentary on it. It shows how well acquainted he was with the spirit of the age. But first we shall look at some of the features which distinguish existentialist interpretations from previous explanations of the doctrine. When we compare them with the Augustinian–Calvinistic ones, with the theory of "posse peccare," "non posse non peccare," and "non posse peccare," we must say that Adam has come back into the human race, to use Kierkegaard's terminology.[16] He is no longer some character back in the past, but thanks both to the results of higher criticism and to the philosophy of involvement he represents the human race. His story is our story. Kierkegaard said: "How sin came into the world every man understands by himself alone."[17] The idea behind this is not that the race begins anew with

14. Kierkegaard, *Concept of Dread*, p. 64
15. John 8:34, 36.
16. Kierkegaard, *Concept of Dread*, ch. I.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

every individual, but that every individual begins afresh with the race. Barth has expressed it in this way: "Man is at once an individual and only an individual, and, at the same time, without in any way losing his individuality, he is responsible representative of all men."[18] Thus the story of Adam is not the story of a golden age preceding the history of mankind.[19] "We must remember," says Bonhoeffer, "that this is not the tale of some original man that leaves us more or less involved. If this were so our task would be to let our imagination play in order to remove ourselves into the fairyland beyond tob and ra." (P. 56.) We must translate "the old picture-language of the world of magic into the new picture-language of the technical world. We must always assume that in either case it is we who are aimed at and we must readily and openly allow what is said in that age about the man of the magical world-picture to apply to us." (P. 49.)

Another striking feature of existentialist reinterpretations is that the question of the "why" and "how" of the origin of evil is admitted to be insoluble. The theological interpretation of Bonhoeffer begins with the facts as experienced and looks at them in the light of the victory of the second Adam. "The question of why evil exists," he says, "is not a theological question, for it assumes that it is possible to go behind the existence forced upon us as sinners. We would make something else responsible. Therefore, 'the question of why' can always be answered with 'that,' which burdens man completely. The theological question does not arise about the origin of evil but about the real overcoming of evil on the cross; it asks for the forgiveness of guilt, for the reconciliation of the fallen world." (P. 78.) In other words the fall can only be seen in the light of the acquittal which Camus had never heard.

Pascal had said this long before: "We cannot conceive the glorious state of Adam, nor the nature of his sin, nor the transmission of it to us. . . . All we need know is that we are miserable, corrupt, separate from God, but ransomed by Jesus Christ."[20] The representation of the human race in Adam is looked upon in the light of the original representation of the human race in Jesus Christ. The reality of the victory is what really counts and this enables us with Kierkegaard to admit that all good explanations are not really full explanations but only explanations up to the inexplicable point, namely, the qualitative leap. Original sin remains a mystery without which man cannot be understood. Pascal said: "This foolishness is wiser than all the wisdom of men. . . . For without this we cannot say what man is. . . ."[21] In the same manner Bonhoeffer describes the series of events leading up to the fall, like the prohibition, the creation of Eve, man's

18. Karl Barth, *Christ and Adam, Man and Humanity in Romans 5* (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 43.
19. Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt* (London, 1947), ch. v.
20. Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (ed. Léon Brunschvicg, Paris: Nelson, n.d.), no. 560 (p. 280f.).
21. *Ibid.*, no. 445 (p. 234f.).

learning to distinguish between his freedom and his creatureliness. But all these do not explain the simple words, "and he ate." The act itself is inconceivable and has no excuse. It is a deed of mankind from which no man can absolve himself. It is revolt against the only possible attitude which befits a creature. It is defection in which all creation is torn away from the centre. (Bonhoeffer, p. 73.)

Paul Tillich has called existentialism the good luck of twentieth-century theology.[22] He means that it gives a description of the human predicament which comes much closer to the classical Christian interpretation than the rationalist and idealist anthropologies. We can see what he has in mind when we compare Clamence as he was before with what he was after his fall. It is very hard to talk with people like Clamence before he "fell." The lack of awareness of the gap in life makes it almost impossible even to raise the question of gospel. Jesus had the hardest time with the Pharisees. He came for those who are in need of the physician, and Clamence after the fall knows that something is wrong. He is more like the publican with whom Jesus could talk. On the other hand we go too far in saying that he is on the doorstep of Christianity. Part of Camus' purpose is to show how relatively successful Clamence is in escaping the gnawing pains of the sickness unto death.

We should perhaps remember that Amsterdam as Camus saw it is not the whole picture either. There, in the middle of the city, in the heart of fallen life, also surrounded by the circles of hell, stands the "Oude Kerk." At one time the authorities thought of demolishing it because of the bad condition of the building. But some people worked to get it repaired and finally both building and congregation were restored. Today it is standing there as a monument and reminder of the fact that the only thing a Christian can do is to stand in solidarity with fallen man. He too knows of life between good and evil, between pleasure and pain. He is part of the first creation and in Adam he recognizes himself. But at the same time he knows something else, and therefore he looks at the old creation in a different manner. By the grace of God he can identify himself with Clamence because he has learned to identify himself with Christ. He looks at the dawn of the fall in the light of Easter morning. He has heard the acquittal and may express in his life what Paul said: "The free gift is not like the trespass. . . . If because of one man's trespass, death reigned through that one man, *much more* will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ."[23]

What is the right method of apologetics? Bonhoeffer felt that twentieth-century post-Christian man is closer to the Christian faith not in spite of but because of the fact that he is irreligious.[24] He is more like the "people

22. Cf. Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture* (New York, 1959), ch. VII, VIII.
23. Romans 5:15, 17.
24. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (London, 1956), pp. 147ff.

of the land" in Jesus' days because he has no religious pretensions. The spirit of the gospel is congenial with this honesty, whereas religious pretensions are the hardest barrier to break through. We have tended to confuse religion or Christianity with Christian faith as the answer to God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ. We know the results which this confusion has had in the missionary enterprise. If it is a self-assured Christianity we bring, we might as well stay away from the heathen. Just as there is no mission, so there is no apologetics without apology, without making it clear that we bring the Christ in earthen vessels, that the word of God both judges and redeems also our own lives. The pagans—including the modern pagans in our environment—are quick to discover Janus-faces. And if we are convinced that the right response to God is not religiosity but faith we are led to a greater emphasis on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit who alone is able to overcome the real offence of the gospel. In the final analysis not our words but our lives will be the decisive witness. Lives lived in obedience are the best "worldly" interpretations of the Good News by which the Spirit of God rouses a sense of the "above" and the "beyond" in twentieth-century post-Christian man.

Roman Catholic Theology in Germany Today

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To write an article on the modern trends in German Catholic theology is not quite as hopeless an undertaking as one might think when looking at the advertising booklet, published in 1958, listing the German theological publications of recent years; the booklet contains titles and brief descriptions of about 900 works.[1] In spite of the tremendous literary output of German Catholic theologians, there is, I believe, a certain unity of direction and movement in all their efforts. Even where there is controversy—and Germans are stubborn arguers—the main tendencies of theological thinking are more or less the same. A great variety of opinions on issues discussed in detail does not necessarily preclude a harmony of effort and a steady growth of thought in one direction. In this article I wish to describe as I understand them the situation of, and the main trend within, Catholic theology in the Germany of our day.

There is, first of all, in German Catholic theology the keen awareness that Catholic thought is always influenced by the thought which it encounters in its own century. This is true of the past, and it is true of the present. The "new" discovery, however, is that our confrontation with non-Catholic thought is creative and fruitful only when it is fully conscious, critical, and profound. This last sentence I now wish to explain.

1. The booklet listing the recent German theological publications is *Eine Auswahl deutscher Bücher: Katholische Theologie*, printed by the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, Frankfurt a. M., 1958. Recent German Protestant publications are found in a companion booklet, *Evangelische Theologie*, of almost the same size. These book lists include new editions of older works.

It may be more useful for the Canadian reader if, instead of giving footnotes throughout the article referring to books he cannot easily find, I make a few references to certain major works more likely to be available in larger theological libraries. The excellent volume *Fragen der Theologie Heute*, published by the Benziger Verlag, Zürich/Cologne, 1958, deals with German, and more generally with modern European, Catholic theology. To gain greater insight into contemporary German theology the *Katholische Dogmatik*, in five volumes, by Michael Schmaus (Max Heuber, Munich, various editions and dates) is invaluable—for the viewpoint taken by the author, for the accounts of recent controversies, and for the lengthy bibliographies. The new, revised edition of the *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* (Herder, Freiburg, 2nd ed., 1957–), which puts more emphasis on theological articles than did the former editions, is also a reflection of contemporary German theological thought. At present four volumes are out. A set of three volumes, *Schriften zur Theologie* by Karl Rahner (Benziger, Cologne, 3rd ed., Vols. I–II, 1958; 2nd ed., Vol. III, 1957), is most significant for modern German Catholic thought. The style of the author is unfortunately so involved that, despite his clarity of thought, he may offer great difficulty to many readers. Significant for German moral theology is the *Handbuch der katholischen Sittenlehre*, in five volumes, edited by Fritz Tillmann (Patmos-Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1951), and Bernard Häring's *Das Gesetz Christi*, in one volume (Erich Wewel, Freiburg i. Br., 5th ed., 1959).

From the beginning of its history Christianity has always confronted other religions and other forms of thought, and from the beginning the Christian reaction has never been one of simple and unqualified rejection. The thought of the others had to be understood, analysed, and evaluated. The attempt was often made, if possible, to express Christian teaching in the terms and even the thought-forms of systems which in themselves were incompatible with Christian revelation. This process, I believe, is already visible in the New Testament. The *kerygma* of the Twelve in Jerusalem is given a very different form when the gospel is preached to the pagan populations of Asia Minor. This process of transformation, or assimilation, continued when Christians came in contact with Greek philosophy, with Platonic and Neo-Platonic, Stoic and Aristotelian wisdom. The closed systems were condemned, but the terms and, occasionally, the notions contained in these systems were utilized by Christian thinkers in the explanation of divine revelation. That this method has borne fruit cannot be doubted when we look at patristic literature and the later medieval syntheses. That this method is fraught with dangers cannot be denied either. Is Clement of Alexandria, or Origen, always announcing the message of the gospel in terms of purged Greek philosophy, or is he occasionally conforming Christian wisdom to fit alien forms of thought of pagan origin? Yet, in spite of the dangers, the Catholic Church has always encouraged this kind of creative confrontation with the thought of others. This attitude is, I believe, one of the fundamental Catholic principles. It has led Catholic theology at times to speak in terms far removed from biblical categories, despite the fact that what all theology tries to do is to have some insight into the mysteries revealed in the word of God. The Catholic Church has often been accused by Lutherans of being, in this sense, too broad-minded, of not preserving the authentic forms and phrases of the Scriptures, of adapting her theology too quickly, of compromising. Whatever we may think of individual instances, the fact remains that it is a Catholic principle to confront non-Catholic thought creatively in order to use whatever true insight may be found there for a better understanding of divine revelation.

It is therefore somewhat ironical that in recent centuries, and in some countries even today, Catholic theology is unconcerned about the thought and the philosophies of others, whether Christian or non-Christian. This wholesale and uncritical rejection of non-Catholic thought has been the common attitude of Catholic writers since the sixteenth century. There were of course notable exceptions, especially in the last century. But the reasons for the prevalent negative attitude are not difficult to find. It was an attitude of defence. Catholic unity being threatened from all sides, the great hope of these writers was that, by returning to a happier past and rejecting all new influences, the ancient unity of Christendom could be reconstructed. History, however, has shown that this sort of restoration has not been possible—and never will be. It is somewhat ironical nevertheless

that this utter and unqualified rejection of the modes of thought of others is not only not traditionally Catholic, but even corresponds, it seems to me, much more to a certain Lutheran view which discovers only darkness in nature and in everything that is not the pure gospel.

There was, of course, a good deal of development in post-Tridentine Catholic theology, there were many great writers and countless elaborations of old and new themes, and yet the principal effort was always one of restoration, of returning to the categories of the medieval thinkers who, in their time, had produced a most harmonious, living, creative vision of unity rich in tension. In the hands of the theologians of the baroque age theology became a closed system. The proper task of the theologian was to elaborate this system further and further to answer the new questions that arose in controversy. It was then that Catholic theology began to show the marks of that utter rejection of non-Catholic thought of which I have spoken; it became anti-Protestant and anti-rationalist. Thus, for instance, to counterbalance Protestant teaching the Catholic writers of the baroque age would strongly emphasize the role of the hierarchy when speaking of the mystery of the Church; they would stress the merit of good works in their explanation of grace and its effects; they would discuss at length the causality of the sacraments when dealing with the mystery of Christ's presence in the Church—and so forth. In the same way we find an anti-rationalist emphasis in baroque theology. On the one hand, the separation between nature and grace was stressed, as well as the utter gratuitousness of the supernatural, and on the other hand, the power and competence of reason to come to a knowledge of spiritual reality was emphasized. All these elaborations of Catholic theology are essentially true, at least in their intention, and no Catholic writer of today would claim that the baroque theologians were unorthodox, disloyal to the gospel, or beyond the bounds of authentic Catholic thought. On the contrary, they were most faithful to the teaching of the Church. Their radical opposition to other forms of thought influenced only the *emphasis* of their teaching and determined the areas that remained neglected. Any theologian, however, knows and appreciates how important emphases are for the creation of a particular mentality and the production of an intellectual climate.

There is a note in post-Tridentine Catholic theology of which the theology of our day, especially German theology, is particularly conscious. Even though the theology of the baroque age was anti-Protestant and anti-rationalist, it was nevertheless profoundly influenced by the very forms of thought which it rejected. Whenever we confront another system in debate, a certain influence of the opposition is unavoidable. The opposition determines the questions that are asked and the ways in which the answers are given. The unfortunate fact about baroque theology is that it was unconscious of this influence. The theological writers of that age did not realize what was happening. While they rejected all Protestant thought and emphasized in the Catholic tradition whatever was diametrically

opposed to the Protestant errors, they nevertheless fell into the individualism which characterized Protestantism at the time. Thus, for instance, the sacraments and prayer, uniting us to Christ, were looked upon mainly as means of grace for the individual; their social nature and their role in the body of Christ remained comparatively undeveloped. Along with this individualism, essentially foreign to the Catholic tradition, went an extreme moralism, the unconscious counterpart of certain Calvinistic tendencies. The Christian life began to be described in terms of doing good and avoiding evil. (Perhaps it would be fairer to say that a common *Zeitgeist* influenced both Protestant and Catholic thinkers rather than attributing these tendencies to Protestantism. But even if this is admitted, it remains true that the theology of the baroque age did not reject the individualism and moralism which entered Catholicism from the outside.)

Catholic opposition to all forms of rationalism was a dire necessity in those days, and yet a similar situation arose; there was an influence of rationalist thought in baroque theology of which the theologians were unconscious. Catholic theology was developed as the perfect system. There was an answer for every question. Granted the divine intervention in a supernatural revelation, everything followed neatly and logically from the articles of faith; there was no loophole. Even the *praeambula fidei*, the rational basis of the Christian faith, were systematized in such a rigorous way that the arguments for the Catholic religion seemed to be scientifically demonstrable beyond reasonable doubt, even to a man devoid of faith.

From the experience of Catholic theology in the baroque age we conclude: Whenever the confrontation with the thought of others is not fully conscious, critical, and creative, but consists merely of an undiscerning rejection, the rejected system will exert its influence secretly. It may well be that this conclusion is verified also in the history of Protestant theology. There is a vengeance in the realm of ideas. For this reason I have said on the first page of this article that only an honest and profound confrontation with the thought of others will enrich Catholic theology with new and creative insights. Only a critical confrontation can avoid the secret, undesired influences. This is what Germans call "Auseinandersetzung," and they love it. It seems to me, moreover, as I have mentioned above, that this kind of positive confrontation is an ancient Catholic principle.

German Catholic theology of our day is characterized by its openness to other forms of thought. There is a constant confrontation with Kantian idealism, with existentialism, with Marxist ideologies, and with the mixture of romanticism, aesthetical thinking, and humanism which is so typical of the German bourgeoisie. There is one principal encounter of German Catholic theology however: Protestant thought. It is neither an exaggeration nor an unkindness to say that every German Catholic theological author reflecting on Christian revelation writes with a Lutheran, or with Karl Barth, looking over his shoulder, somewhat as St. Thomas elaborating his thought had Aristotle sitting across from him at the desk. The purpose

of constantly facing Lutheran or Barthian thought is not to refute or reject these views at every point. Nor is it, contrariwise, to arrive at some kind of compromise. Whenever Catholic theologians present or elaborate the thought of the Church, they desire to show that whatever they consider genuine and valid in the *Anliegen*, the concern, of Lutherans or Karl Barth is contained in the authentic Catholic tradition. German Catholic authors of today when speaking of the Church will emphasize its organic unity with Christ, its head (without, of course, diminishing the normative role of the hierarchy). They will emphasize the gratuitous nature of salvation and grace (without, of course, minimizing the truth that, united to Christ, man can offer gifts to God worthy of reward). They will emphasize the personal encounter in faith in receiving the sacraments (without, of course, belittling the *ex opere operato* character of the signs which the Lord has bestowed on the Church). At this point it becomes evident to anyone familiar with the writings of St. Thomas how relevant this teacher is to contemporary problems. At the same time German theological authors are very conscious of the deep divergence between the Catholic and the Protestant way of looking at things; and the pitfalls into which Protestant theology has fallen in their eyes serve to warn them what roads must at all costs be avoided. It is precisely this confrontation with the various schools of Protestant thought today which impresses German Catholic writers with the danger of individualism, of despising intellect or rejecting every analogy of being, or again of softening the objective structure of the Christian faith or belittling the Church's divine mission in the world. The kind of sympathetic exchange of thought with Protestant authors that is happening in Germany today is making the Catholic theologians really more Catholic, more Church-conscious, without, I believe, giving them the slightest anti-Protestant bias.

This confrontation with Protestant thought in Germany is not restricted to the level of high theology. It has already entered the theological education of priests. The five-volume *Katholische Dogmatik* by Michael Schmaus, used as a textbook in many seminaries, reflects this open and ecumenical spirit throughout. My own professor of dogmatic theology, a German Dominican at an international university, commenting on the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas in Latin, would add, after quoting the testimony of the Catholic tradition, "Etiam Carolus Barth dicit. . . ." This attitude is largely the fruit of the ecumenical movement which, in Germany, has created the *Una Sancta* circle bringing together Protestant and Catholic theologians for prayer and discussion. The fruitful and original studies found in periodicals such as *Una Sancta* and *Catholica* testify to the stimulating and creative effect of these encounters. I may mention that I do not know of a single Catholic writer of our day who has deviated from Catholic orthodoxy or has sought the slightest compromise in matters of doctrine. This may have happened occasionally between the two wars. In the present period the movement of creative confrontation with Protes-

tantism, including the *Una Sancta* circle, is encouraged and supported by the German Catholic hierarchy. Many of the sermons and pastoral letters of Bishop Stoehr of Mainz, for instance, or of Cardinal Doepfner of Berlin are truly ecumenical documents. Lest I be misunderstood, however, I must remind Canadian readers that the Protestantism which Catholics encounter in Germany is for the most part dogmatic and theological, and comparatively free of the liberal or evangelical or fundamentalist trends so prevalent in North American Protestantism.

While confrontation with non-Catholic thought is characteristic of modern Catholic theology in Germany, this merely indicates a method of procedure. So far we have said very little about the content and the direction of German Catholic theology. Is it possible to find a common orientation or aspiration in the enormous bulk of theological literature? It may be said that the great effort of Catholic theologians is to make Catholic theology ever more Bible-conscious. But this would be true of modern Catholic theologians in any country. Is there a peculiar trend characteristic of Catholic theology in Germany? I shall venture a generalization, which makes no claim, however, to be the last word on the matter. It seems to me that the element characterizing most contemporary German theology is its concern for history. By this I do *not* mean that attention is paid simply in positive studies, to the history of Christian thought, to accurate accounts of the growth and development of the Catholic Church. I do *not* mean, moreover, that there is a tendency to relativize objective truth and the dogmas of religion by stressing the changes through which the development of the centuries has taken them. What I wish to say is that contemporary German theology tends to regard reality, in whatever area it may be working, in the light of history, that is, in its relation to God's creation and man's fall, to Christ's redemption on the cross, and to the ultimate fulfilment at the end of time. German theology avoids simply considering pure natures, or man as such, or the ontology of grace; for man is always in a particular salvific situation before God. While considerations "as such" are valid and useful abstractions, the decisive value of human beings comes to them from their place in history—whether and how they are linked to Christ's reconciliation, directly or remotely, in fact or in hope, by way of inchoation or of fulfilment.

We may put the matter differently. God did not reveal abstract essences in his word; he revealed himself by intervening in the life of a people and of humanity. Even when Christ proclaimed the secret wisdom of the Father, his teaching and his doing transformed the world and initiated men into a new age. History, according to the biblical vision, is not the succession of days and years like the beads on an endless string. History is the *locus* of God's creative word. It is the created duration, with a beginning and an end, where God reveals himself and in revealing himself is forever transforming it. One is the time of Adam, another that of Abraham, another the time of Christ, another again that of the Church. Whatever

we discover, therefore, in the light of faith, about the essential make-up of man or any part of the universe will be profoundly qualified, if not determined, by its place in the history of divine redemption.

From what source did this emphasis on the historical perspective enter Catholic theology in Germany (and indeed in other countries)? This perspective is, first of all, biblical. The increasing attention given to biblical studies in contemporary Catholic theology has here borne one of its fruits. It must be noted, moreover, that this historical viewpoint is thoroughly at home in the classical Catholic theology of the Fathers and the medieval writers. In St. Thomas, for instance, we find the constant concern to trace the theological themes, such as faith, or grace, or the sacraments, through the different ages of humanity, from the days of innocence, through the period of waiting for Christ and the time of Christ's presence in the Church, to the age of his final return. And yet the main effort of medieval theologians, a tendency further developed in the baroque age, was to obtain an insight into the essential, metaphysical constitution of the elements of religion. They were mainly interested in the static structures of the newness Christ had brought, rather than in the dynamism which is associated with these structures and for the sake of which they had been revealed. There was an inadequate appreciation of Thomas' doctrine that God has revealed all the mysteries of our faith *ad salutem*, for our salvation.

It may be said, moreover, that Germans have always been dissatisfied with static conceptions. The German idealists of the last century believed that their overthrow of substance and of the permanence of things, and their vision of being as unfolding in history, were faithful to an ancient German tradition. Be that as it may, what is certain is that German theological thought has been led to a greater appreciation of history through its encounter with the stepchild of German idealism, the dialectical materialism of Marx. If for Marx history gives meaning to things, and not things to history, this is more true, supremely true, in the biblical vision where history is the *locus* of divine redemption, and of divine judgment subordinated to this redemption, so that whatever happens on this stage receives its value from its relationship to the divine interventions.

It may be added that the philosophy of existentialism, drawing attention to the uniqueness of any situation, and to the decisive influence of this situation on the constitution of the subject, has also heightened the sense of history among Catholic theologians. Protestant theologians of our day are, of course, also concerned with the historical perspective. In the past they often, though not always, have been more concerned with it than Catholic theologians. In some writers today, however, this concern for history goes so far that the existence of permanent natures is altogether denied. In some of these writers, and not only in Bultmann and his followers, the weight of the present moment is so great that history itself as a theological category is lost; creation, the fall of man, Christ's ascension

and his ultimate return are considered as supratemporal myths describing and revealing man's present situation before God. In such a surrounding the Catholic theologian often feels like a defender of the *Heilsgeschichte*.

There is then a convergence of influences which have drawn the attention of Catholic theologians to the historical dimensions in the Christian faith. Lest I remain too vague, especially for readers not well acquainted with Catholic thought, I wish to show, by some examples, how this historical emphasis alters the perspective in which the various areas or branches of theology are being approached by modern Catholic writers in Germany. I may mention, and even insist on it, that there is no note of resentment among these writers against the theology of the baroque age, let alone against the magnificent medieval visions of Christian theology. There is the realization that the wisdom of faith which began with Christ is developed and adapted to meet the Church's problem of the day—at certain times, it is true, more successfully than at others. Theology is always in a situation. Hence even the most original German writers, such as Karl Rahner and Hans Urs von Balthasar, bear witness to a faithful and reasoned reverence for the past, and attempt to show at every point how the new insights of contemporary thought fit into the core of what is called the classical tradition of Catholic theology.

Every theologian knows how central the problem of nature and grace is in the elaboration of a theology. There was a tendency in baroque thought, which we have already referred to, to separate the realms of nature and grace in such a systematic fashion that the result was the frequently spurned *Stockwerktheologie*, that is, the two-storey theology in which to an understructure of pure nature was added the superstructure of grace. In such a view Christian grace almost appears as something extrinsically joined to man, who is already complete without it. This, of course, had never been the vision of the Middle Ages. For St. Thomas human nature is *capax Dei*. For him the life of man remains radically frustrated without the gracious and unmerited intervention of God in Jesus Christ. The historical perspective of modern writers leads to an even closer relationship of creation and redemption, without in any way endangering the gratuitousness of divine mercy. God desired to join the human family to himself in two separated steps, creation and redemption; the latter is as freely given as the former, and is not a necessary consequence of the former; and yet they are steps envisaged by the one God in their correlation. Hence the creation of the universe remained open to the completion from above in a higher reconciliation in Christ. In this sense we may call creation, with Karl Barth, a *Voraus-Setzung* of God's redemptive design. Historically, taking into consideration the fall of man, we see that man is never devoid of a relationship to Christ, be this positive or negative, and hence it becomes a central insight of Catholic theology, and not just an afterthought, that there is no state of pure nature. Pure nature

is a legitimate and useful abstraction. But it should not give rise to a two-storey theology, and in the historical perspective of contemporary thought it will not do so.

The famous "saubere Horizontale," which according to Emil Brunner is supposed to separate the realm of creation from that of grace in Catholic theology, is even more completely dissolved when we consider that the unique and once-for-all sacrifice of Christ on the cross was accepted by God for the whole of the human family, and that consequently something has changed in the relationship of men, of all men, to their God. This is true, obviously and especially and supremely, of believers in Christ; but the change has taken place in all men even when they do not consciously acknowledge it in faith. Through Christ's victory on the cross there is an ordering of humanity to grace in his body. For this reason we find that the Christological way of regarding the universe leads modern German theologians to a Christian optimism in regard to creation and men outside the visible bounds of the Catholic Church, optimism which I feel is characteristically Catholic. Wherever there is selflessness in the heart of a man; wherever man seeks God; wherever man is led to die to egotism and to live for the sake of love; Christ is already at work in him preparing and drawing a new member into his mystical body.

There is another aspect of grace that has been reconsidered in modern German Catholic theology. Since the gift of grace is above nature and hence beyond the realm of experience, it can easily be considered so far away from human life that it really does not make any difference to the form which this life actually takes. Grace then becomes simply a principle of explanation. This tendency to see in grace the deep ground of whatever is good in a man's life is of course very useful in the Church's fight against all forms of Pelagianism, a fight in which Thomas was no less a champion than Augustine. But if grace is so completely beyond experience, we are tempted, while *believing that* everything depends on God, to *act as if* everything depended on ourselves. This sort of separation became more pronounced when the sectarian doctrine of "assurance of salvation" was condemned by the Council of Trent. According to the Catholic tradition, we cannot know with certainty whether we are in a state of grace. *Kyrie eleison* expresses man's attitude towards God in any situation on this earth. And yet it would be unfortunate for grace to become so far removed from the world of experience that we conceived of man's natural life as such a closed psychological unity that the point of insertion (*der Ansatzpunkt*) of grace could not be found in it, that grace simply stood in and behind every good action.

German Catholic theologians of our day prefer to look at grace, not simply in ontological terms, but also in a historical perspective as the gracious call of God eliciting a human response. If grace is regarded as the encounter of man with his God in faith, then it is at one and the same time an elevation above man's fallen situation and an experience. Grace

then does make a difference in the pattern of a man's life. Man's person-to-person relationship to God, which is wrought by grace, or rather, is his grace, is the centre from which he understands his entire existence. Grace then changes man's situation experimentally. Certainly, grace as such cannot be the object of human experience, but it does manifest itself in the psychological life of the believer. This is a traditional doctrine. St. Thomas speaks of the conjectural knowledge we have of the state of grace. The reason why the new emphasis of German Catholic theology is so invigorating is that there was a tendency in baroque theology to regard grace as an impersonal divine power poured into the human soul.

We see here how the pronounced historical perspective of contemporary Catholic theology has led to an attitude that may best be described as a personalism. There is a new appreciation of the uniqueness of the human person and of the particular role of this uniqueness in the eyes of God. This has nothing to do with individualism. For the person who responds to God's call in faith and love assumes, by his surrender, the responsibility for all his brethren. The love which God bestows on one man must be returned to him, handed on from man to man, each one returning it to God and passing it on to others, building a living pattern of God-connectedness. Whoever interrupts the connection at one point, writes Romano Guardini, shatters the whole; and whoever fashions it at one place, makes room for the whole.

Guardini, one of the most influential German writers, whose works are now being translated into English, has done much to foster this kind of Catholic personalism. Through his profound understanding of the individual in the light of divine revelation, over and above all modern psychologizing, Guardini has been able to grasp the Christian significance of art, literature, and other human phenomena. His deeply sensitive and poetic style has made him a widely read theological interpreter of human culture and of the humanity of Jesus, appreciated far beyond the Christian community.

But this personalism is fruitful even in technical theological works. Thus, for instance, the theology of the sacraments is accented differently in modern German writers. One look at the opening pages of Schmaus's volume on the sacraments, belonging to his large *Katholische Dogmatik* already mentioned, reveals that the emphasis, side by side with a statement of the *ex opere operato* efficacy of the sacraments, is on the personal encounter of God in faith mediated by the sacraments. The sacraments are not conceived as taps of divine grace where impersonal holiness is poured into the the faithful—this is the impression given by superficial presentations of baroque theology—but they are the sacred signs, instituted and ordained by the Lord, conforming to Christ, *ex opere operato*, the (adult) person responding to him in faith. This conformation takes place in Christ's body; at this point the personalistic concern is imbued with a truly communal and churchly significance.

The personalistic concern is also evident in the writings on moral theology which are being published in Germany. The attempt is made to avoid an ethics conceived as an obedience to impersonal laws. Under the key word of the following of Christ, many writers, such as Tillmann, even before the war, and above all Häring, after the war, have composed a moral theology on the basis of man's personal response to the call of Christ. In addition to the major works of these two authors, there are many smaller monographs and studies written in the same spirit. If in more popular books addressed to a wider audience in Germany the occasional attempt was made to baptize the modern *Situations-Ethik* and to remove fixed moral norms from the gospel of Jesus, this tendency has never been apparent in the serious theological writers, even though they too have tried to make Christian ethics more existential. French Thomists have fruitfully elaborated Thomas' doctrine on Christian prudence (practical moral intelligence), yet this approach has not, I believe, found the echo it deserves in German theological literature. Karl Rahner, however, has done much, independently of the Thomist tradition, to deepen the understanding of the "human act," a central notion in Catholic moral theology, in order to render a better account of the personalistic structure of man's choosing and acting. It is interesting to note that, while in Germany several Protestant authors are returning to a notion of the natural law, there is a tendency among Catholic writers to look upon the natural law in the light of man's changing social and salvific situation, thus discovering a dynamism in this natural law which the strong emphasis on "essences" had overlooked in recent centuries.

While the historical approach to theology, of which I speak, has led German theology to a new appreciation of the human person, it has also led, in seeming contradiction to this, to a more universalistic view of things. A part will no longer be considered independently of its context; it will always be considered as a part, that is, in the light of the whole to which it belongs. Germans love to speak of a "ganzheitliche Schau." This tendency has made theology prophetic and visionary again. Modern theologians tend to regard the single elements of Christian doctrine in the light of the unity of that divine disposition which begins on the first day of creation and ends on the last day of history. Eschatology has become one of the major concerns of German Catholic theology. By this I do not mean that special attention is paid to the future age at the expense of this world's importance, but rather that the realities of this age of ours are understood in the light of their fulfilment promised for the day of Christ's return. Needless to say, in Catholic theology this return of Christ is taken as a historical event, as much as creation itself. This has always been so. And yet in former centuries such eschatological realities as the Church and the sacraments were usually regarded, not in the light of the age to which they are pointing and which they anticipate, but as quantities of our time. Otto Semmelroth and, following him, many others have tried to regard

the whole Church as a sacrament of the kingdom, the *Ursakrament*, the type and pattern of all sacramentality in the Christian dispensation. This has thrown much light on the visibility of the Church as well as on the invisibility of the effect mediated by it; it has explained how a historical structure which is necessarily imperfect can nonetheless be the zone in which is present Christ's full and final victory. These are only attempts groping for a larger theological synthesis. At this time there is in the whole realm of eschatology and the meaning of history a wide variety of opinion and much fruitful, and sometimes heated, discussion. There is no agreement whether the fulfilment of Christ will come wholly from above, or whether it may be possible to conceive of a divine intervention in the evolution of this cosmos, initiating the kingdom of the last day in continuity with history. Is the magnificent vision of Teilhard de Chardin, in which the *eschaton* is the completion of, and not the judgment on, the world's history, reconcilable with the biblical data? On this there is as wide disagreement in German Catholic theology as in that of other countries.

The above paragraphs give a few illustrations to show how the historical viewpoint adopted by German Catholic theology has given a new impetus to research and a new direction to ancient thoughts. The realization that human life is facing, and is evaluated by, the fulfilment at the end of time, rather than some timeless eternity, has cast some doubts on the traditional way of regarding the nature of theology itself. Is there room in the Church for a theology seeking knowledge and insight for their own sake? Should not rather the sole function of theology be to serve the *kerygma*, the proclamation of the gospel, and the initiation of the last days? There were, at one time, extreme advocates of such a *Verkündigungstheologie*. But the controversy has cooled down in recent years. All theological movements in Germany agree that theology must be vital and have a "Sitz im Leben." All writers agree that theology must make a contribution to the preaching of the gospel and the practical life of the Church, though very few will limit theology to this function. Theology seeks insight. Man is not the only one who is waiting for the end; God has entered the world as man to make us more human, and this includes the growth of understanding. *Credo ut intelligam*. Theology serves the Church by seeking wisdom. It must be said that all tendencies of Catholic theology in Germany shun what has contemptfully been called "Konklusionstheologie." Even the most faithful Thomists who defend the scientific character of theology (science here being taken in the Aristotelian-Thomistic sense) will emphasize more than ever before the sapiential function of theology, which makes it, according to Thomas, eminently practical and affective, even while eminently speculative. The conclusions drawn from premises contained in revelation are not regarded as leading away from the word of God, but rather as manifesting the full implications, and hence leading to a greater understanding of the very content, of divine revelation. All schools of German Catholic theology seek to understand reality in the light of God's

word and to correct forever a purely human logic by a greater conformity to Holy Scripture.

It would be interesting to discuss how this emphasis on *Heilsgeschichte* prevalent in contemporary German Catholic theology has found expression in the life of the faithful, how it has influenced the prayer-books, the devotions, the church services. This outlook has, of course, always been proper to the liturgy of the Church. The liturgical renewal which has affected the faithful of all areas in Germany, in city and in village alike, has no doubt in turn influenced theologians to put more stress on the historical perspective. Since this article is not on German Catholicism but only on Catholic theology in Germany, these matters do not properly belong here. To give but one example of how far these modern tendencies have penetrated to the people, I wish to refer to the saying of the rosary, the most popular Catholic devotion below the level of the liturgy. The rosary announces the gospel: the first movement includes the joyful mysteries of Christ's coming, the second the sorrowful mysteries of Christ's saving passion, and the third movement the glorious mysteries of Christ's victory and its consequence. Feeling that this third movement is not eschatological enough, many diocesan prayer-books in Germany now include a fourth set of mysteries dealing specifically with the present action of the glorified Christ and his return at the end of time. The historical emphasis in present-day Catholic thought moves both theologians and the people to a Christocentric vision of reality.

The Christian Heritage in Canada[1]

H. H. WALSH

THE WORLD Council of Churches has set up a Theological Commission[2] whose purpose is to seek out among the various expressions of Christianity a tradition common to them all. It is hoped that the explication of this common tradition may be a helpful step along the way to a reunited Christendom. The purpose of this paper is similar: to discover if there is a Canadian expression of Christianity which has put its impress upon all the various traditions that have been brought to this country from many different lands. There is also the subdued hope that such a search may reveal a "Canadian expression of all that the Catholic church stands for."[3]

I

Such a project bristles with obstacles, for it implies that there is a Canadian identity, vigorous enough to have put its stamp upon all the various institutions and structures that go into the making of a national culture. Canadian identity, however, is a matter of much dispute among our historians and literary folk. The historians range in their pursuit from the Turner frontier thesis school to the St. Lawrence River school; the former sees Canada as a typical North American country largely shaped by the open frontier, while the latter plays down the American link and holds "that the St. Lawrence River with its extensions far into the continent, has been from the beginning the main determinant of Canadian history, political as well as economic."[4] These are, however, more or less environmental interpretations of Canadian development, to which our novelists add their quota with their emphasis upon the startling aspects of Canadian climate or the delineation of regional types.[5]

Making all due allowances for environmental and regional factors, which must always be given a high priority in any estimate of the Canadian identity, there must also be found a large place for strong personalities who contribute to the formation of national types. It is perhaps not possible

1. The Presidential Address, delivered at the second annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History, Montreal, May 17, 1961.

2. Theological Commission on Tradition and Traditions. A good outline of the purpose of this Commission is A. C. Outler, *The Christian Tradition and the Unity We Seek* (New York, 1957).

3. A paraphrase of Bishop Palmer's vision: "An Indian expression of all that the Catholic Church stands for." Quoted by Bengt Sundkler, *Church of South India: The Movement towards Union, 1900–1947* (London, 1954), p. 121.

4. C. B. Macpherson, "The Social Sciences," in Julian Park (ed.), *The Culture of Contemporary Canada* (Ithaca, 1957), p. 195.

5. Cf. Roy Daniells, "Literature," in *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*, pp. 33–44.

to point to a Canadian John Knox and apply to him what Carlyle said of Knox: "to whom the Scotch owe everything that distinguishes them among the nations." It is possible, however, to say that Canada is somewhat distinguished among the nations because of Bishop Laval and Egerton Ryerson: the former in the early days of colonization provided French Canada with a unique parochial system that is still vital today;[6] the latter, on the eve of Confederation presented Ontario with an educational system that became a model for the rest of English-Speaking Canada.[7] But far more important than environment and strong personalities is the existence of two major cultural groups within one national framework. The clash of cultures is the great Canadian theme, for it brought about Confederation, and was a most determining factor in shaping our fundamental instrument of government, the British North America Act of 1867. It is seldom absent from any session of the Canadian parliament.

II

Behind this persistent theme in Canadian national life is one supreme interest—the preservation of a French Canadian identity. Whatever misgivings there may be about a Canadian identity, and there are many, there are none about a French Canadian identity. Such an identity was evident almost from the first days of colonization. The explanation for this early emergence of a peculiar people lies in the fact that the original settlers in Canada came mostly from one area in France, Normandy and the adjacent territories. Nor did they come in any large numbers, only a few thousand, after which the colony peopled itself by means of an extremely high birth-rate.[8] Thus, from the beginning, New France was a homogeneous state with a uniformity of outlook, that put it in sharp contrast to Old France, which has long been noted for its infinite variety of views.[9]

It does not follow, however, that there were no clashes of opinion in the colony or that the circumstances of the New World did not leave their impress upon the Normandy tradition. One serious division appeared almost immediately, because of the fact that the colony began as a combination of a trading post and a missionary project. Behind the missionary project was a tremendous religious zeal, generated by the Catholic revival of seventeenth-century France.[10] This revival is a most significant fact to keep

6. Cf. M. Roy, *The Parish and Democracy in French Canada* (Toronto, 1950), p. 17.

7. Cf. C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Toronto, 1937–47), Vol. II, ch. III, "The Quest of a School System."

8. Cf. A. R. M. Lower, *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto, 1958), pp. 33–34, for an interesting comment on "reproductive valour in New France," accompanied by a chart.

9. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28–33, for a discussion on the uniformity of the outlook of New France.

10. Cf. E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1905), Vol. III, p. 88: "Negliger les choses religieuses du XVII^e siècle ou les estimer petitement, c'est ne pas comprendre l'histoire de ce siècle, c'est ne pas le sentir."

in mind for any understanding of the nature and quality of the religious life of New France; but perhaps its chief significance lies in the fact that it supplied the colony with a superabundance of religious orders and thus made possible a very close church supervision of the social and cultural development of what was intended to be a Catholic empire in the New World. The chief obstacles in the way of this goal were the needs of the trading post; unless the trading companies could show a profit New France was not a viable state; and profits seemed to be bound up with a rather disreputable liquor trade among the aborigines.[11] To this, the church in the person of its first bishop, François de Montmorency Laval, was unalterably opposed. Thus arose a bitter struggle between church and state fired by the spirit of Gallicanism, which could not be wholly excluded from New France.

But though Gallicanism was early imported to New France, the church on the whole was able to exclude other dissident movements that so much disturbed the religious life of eighteenth-century France, such as Jansenism and quietism; nor was the colony allowed to share in the theological unrest of Europe brought about by what has been described as "the downfall of Aristotle and Ptolemy."[12] One result of this exclusion from the tensions and polemics associated with the Copernican challenge was the creation of a people who are even today deeply estranged from the modern world and for whom adjustment to the industrial revolution has been far more painful than it might otherwise have been.[13]

III

While the Church remained rigid on matters of doctrine, it did make, as it were, sociological adjustments to the New World environment. One of these was to impose an austere way of life on the early settlers, which was no doubt necessary for survival on the open frontier where intemperance has always been a serious threat to community life. Also it was found necessary to make concessions to the democratic spirit of frontier settlements, and this is reflected in the parochial system of Quebec, in which, since the time of Laval, parishioners have been permitted to elect wardens, who are embodied in a *fabrique*, the church council which unites both the civil and religious aspects of the community into one corporation.[14] But this concession to frontier democracy was closely bound up with an immediate supervision by priest and bishop of every aspect of community life. Consequently, when the British took possession of the colony in 1759, they found it impossible to rule their new subjects except through the intervention of

11. On the liquor trade, cf. *Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*, Vol. I (Quebec, 1885), pp. 534–536.
12. H. Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science* (London, 1949), p. 48.
13. Cf. E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (London, 1946), *passim.*
14. Cf. Roy, *The Parish and Democracy*, p. 17.

the parish priests. Thus arose an even closer relationship between priest and people than had prevailed under the old régime.[15]

Since Britain was facing serious disaffection among her Thirteen Colonies to the south, she was inclined to foster this close alliance between priest and people as one way of securing the loyalty of her new subjects. This involved making considerable concessions to the church, such as allowing it to continue to tithe and permitting the new province to retain French civil law and the feudal practices of the old régime.

Naturally special privileges of this nature were greatly resented by the English-speaking settlers who moved into Canada after the British Conquest. Britain tried to remove this racial clash by the Constitution Act of 1791 which divided the country into English-speaking and French-speaking areas, leaving to the French their old customs and church privileges. This solution only seemed to intensify the ill-feeling between the two Canadas, and after a searching inquiry by a commission headed by Lord Durham, a famous Report was issued which urged that the two Canadas be reunited and that French Canadian culture be suppressed.[16]

The Durham Report had just the contrary effect, for it challenged François-Xavier Garneau to write his *Histoire du Canada* (1843), which has done more than even the church to make French Canadians remain a people apart from the rest of Canada. Garneau saw that the survival of French Canada as a cultural entity within an aggressive Anglo-Saxon culture would depend upon his compatriots' becoming sensitively conscious of themselves as a people. He wrote his history with this end in view, and to this day the purpose of French Canadian history writing has remained the same. What differences there are among the historians are only on the best way of making French Canadians conscious of their nationality. And since all of them regard the church as the first line of defence in the struggle for cultural survival, the church has continued to hold a position of respect and authority as in no other country in the world.[17]

IV

Such a solid and impregnable phalanx of Roman Catholicism could not fail to have a profound influence upon the development of Protestantism. The most evident effect was the desire to create an equally solid phalanx of Protestantism, but it was a hope long deferred, because of the lack of homogeneity within English-speaking Canada and the failure of the traditional Protestant churches to provide for the religious needs of uprooted people on the frontier.

15. An interesting comment on the relation between priest and people is to be found in an article by K. H. Cousland, "The Roman Catholic Church and the State in Canada: An Historical Survey of their Relations," *Canadian Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, No. 2 (March, 1956), pp. 101–106.

16. Cf. Reginald Coupland, *The Durham Report: An Abridged Version with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1945), p. 15.

17. Cf. Macpherson, "The Social Sciences," p. 187.

It was the intention of the British government to set up, as soon as times were propitious, an established Protestant church which would serve as a counterweight to the Roman Catholic, and perhaps in time embrace the latter within the new establishment. The very variety of racial stocks and religious allegiances of the new immigrants soon made it evident that this was a vain hope. Furthermore, such a reversal of the French Canadian allegiance would have required a religious zeal on the part of the Protestants equal at least to that of the Roman Catholics; but as has been pointed out by Professor John T. McNeill, who has made a close study of the religious and moral conditions among the Canadian pioneers, "Religious motives were not present in the migrations to the Canadian provinces." It is his conclusion that "the mass of settlers at all stages came to obtain material and not religious opportunity."[18] Even of the Scots we are told that "they did not belong to that class in which religion has the strongest hold."[19] An even greater obstacle in building up a united front before the close-knit French community was the ethnic diversity of the Protestants. In not a single province except Quebec was one racial element dominant. A third consideration to keep in mind when estimating the challenge that faced the Protestant churches in Canada in pioneer days was the social status of the first settlers. The vast majority came from the socially underprivileged; many of them were "induced to go to the colonies, more for the convenience of the parish authorities at home than for their own."[20] A few upper-class people did arrive but they were eager to enhance their standing and created much discontent by monopolizing privileged positions in all the provinces.

With the arrival in the middle eighties of some forty thousand United Empire Loyalists, there seemed good hope that these would provide a more homogeneous population with which the Anglican church could make establishment a reality. It was a deceptive hope as the racial descent and religious allegiance of the Loyalists were just as varied as those of the earlier settlers. Nor did later immigration from either the United States or the British Isles prove to be any less mixed. It soon became evident that, with the exception of Quebec, no church was to become dominant in Canada; consequently there began a stiff rivalry among all the churches to gain a secure foothold in the colonies, and this development hindered all attempts on the part of the British authorities to establish a church which might remind the French Canadians that their Roman church was merely tolerated by the government.

V

Even if conditions for the creation of an established church in Canada had been more propitious, none of the traditional churches of Europe or America would have been equal to the challenge presented by frontier life

18. *Papers of the American Church History Society*, Second series, Vol. VIII (New York and London, 1928), p. 71.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

in the closing days of the eighteenth century. The obvious task before the churches was the reorganization of the social life of a people, many of whom had abandoned established *mores* and had developed intemperate habits.

In England itself, in the new industrial cities, there was need for the same kind of social reorganization as on the turbulent frontier of British North America. As Professor G. R. Cragg has recently reminded us, the Church of England in "the Age of Reason had forgotten certain fundamental human needs; natural religion might satisfy the minds of some, but the hearts of the multitudes were hungry."[21] The best representatives of the Church of England, Bishops Butler and Berkeley, had little to say that either the industrial worker or the frontiersman could understand. Both of them looked upon the national church as the guardian and protector of a caste-privileged society—hardly a view that would be received with any warmth in the levelling atmosphere of the New World.

The Anglican clergy for the most part took as their textbook on morals and manners *The Whole Duty of Man*, which proclaimed "that rigid class divisions were divinely ordained, and that all good subjects must faithfully perform their duties in those particular stations of life wherein it has pleased God to place them."[22] Unfortunately, these were the morals and manners that the first Anglican bishops in Canada, Charles Inglis in Nova Scotia, and Jacob Mountain in Quebec, tried unsuccessfully to inculcate, with disastrous consequences for the Church of England in Canada.

Nor did the Scottish Presbyterians have a more inspiring or comprehensible doctrine for the frontier. At the time that Canada was opened up to Scottish immigration the Established Church of Scotland had come under the influence of the Enlightenment and was inclined to deprecate religious enthusiasm. In the words of its historians it was an era of moderatism, which did not produce missionary zeal or the spirit of self-sacrifice; and so very few ministers of the Kirk volunteered to go to Canada. Indeed there was not much call for them as most of the Scottish settlers came from the less well-to-do families and belonged to the dissenting Presbyterian churches. Even dissent, however, had been affected by the spirit of moderation and dissenting clergy were almost as reluctant to leave the homeland as the clergy of the Kirk, despite the pleas of their compatriots in Canada.[23]

It is the same story when we turn to non-conformity in England. "For the non-conformists," says Professor Cragg, "the eighteenth century was a placid and unheroic age. Their forefathers had arisen in their wrath to bring down king and bishops, but scarcely an echo of the old zeal survived."[24] Non-conformity in Canada was represented by New England Congregationalists, who arrived in fairly large numbers in Nova Scotia in the middle of the eighteenth century. Congregationalism or Independency

21. G. R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason* (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 141.
22. Cf. J. W. Bready, *England: before and after Wesley* (London, 1938), p. 85.
23. Cf. G. Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 220.
24. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason*, p. 132.

(as it was known in England) had in New England assumed the unusual role of an established church; but just when it might have taken over the organization of the religious and social life of Nova Scotia it was at a peculiarly low ebb in its homeland.

For some reasons New England Congregationalism seemed to be the least able of all the traditional churches to export its peculiar form of church government and never became a major denomination in Canada, though some individual Congregational ministers did play an important role in the political and social life of our larger cities. In their failure to sever their church membership from civic responsibility and to provide a less class-conscious church government they were never able to appeal to the socially disorganized frontiersman.

This was done by the Baptists in Nova Scotia, and for a time it looked as if the Baptist church was the ideal frontier church; but after its promising start in Nova Scotia, it never was able to repeat its original triumph on the Western frontier. It may well be that its victory was too great in the Maritimes, where it practically took over the former Congregational churches and flocks after they had passed through a Newlight phase; along with this it received an influx of dissident evangelical Anglicans who provided it with a new intellectual status. Although this combination gave the Baptist church an influential place in the social and political development of the Maritime provinces, it seems to have taken it out of the running as a frontier religion.

VI

The picture I have drawn of the traditional churches of Britain and America is perhaps too bleak; within all of them were stirrings of future promise. The "Religious Society Movement" of late seventeenth-century England[25] was to be productive of an evangelical revival within the churches of both England and Scotland which would eventuate in missionary programmes that would plant both Anglicanism and Presbyterianism firmly in Canada. But before these established churches got around to adapting their old-country ways to the new conditions on the frontier, there was a decided weakening of religious interest in Canada; and none of the traditional churches were capable of renewing that interest. There was evident need for a drastic religious awakening; and the awakening, when it came, was in part an angry revolt against the traditional churches. As S. D. Clark has so copiously illustrated in his *Church and Sect in Canada*, the religious movements started by two men, Henry Alline in Nova Scotia in 1775 and William Aberhart in Alberta in 1922, though "separated in time by a century and a half and in space by over three thousand miles . . . were intimately related in the larger complex of the religious social development of Canada."[26] The similarity of the two movements is due to the fact that both Alline and

25. Cf. C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.* (London, 1901), Vol. I, p. 2.
26. S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, 1948), p. xi.

Aberhart found themselves dealing with a like situation, preaching to a mixed population which had arrived in great numbers from various parts of the world—an uprooted and to some extent a demoralized people who could not find an answer to their problems in the traditional churches.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to Canada, but is part of the North American religious complex. In point of fact most of the religious awakenings that spread across Canada during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries originated in the United States, but they did not always consolidate their gains in the same way. For example, the great religious awakening that occurred in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century can be traced back to an earlier revival under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards in New England; but whereas the New England revival culminated in a New Divinity School, and an Enlightenment "logically blending into an amorphous cultural humanism,"[27] the Nova Scotian revival, although it culminated in a very dogmatic type of religion, of which the Baptists were the chief exponents, exerted its greatest influence in "social reorganization or social unification."[28] In its attack upon the exclusive claims of the Church of England and the special privileges of the colonial upper class, it found itself more and more concerned with the political life of the province, so that in time it put one of its own members into the premier's chair, and became responsible for the formation of a public school system.[29] Thus a sectarian movement with an emphasis upon separation from the world was forced by the extensive changes it had brought about in social relationship to accept political responsibility.

Although the Baptist church in the Maritimes moved rather rapidly from a sect to a church type of religion it has not been able to repeat this process in other parts of Canada. Frequently, Baptist associations have been prey to sudden schisms which organize new religions of protest against the established churches. The most notable of these was the break-up of the Ontario-Quebec convention in 1926 and the formation of an association of Regular Baptist churches, dedicated to a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible. Out of this movement came the Prophetic Baptist Church in Alberta, which with the assistance of other fundamentalist sects put its founder William Aberhart into power as premier of Alberta. Thus was repeated once again that strange anomaly of Canadian religious development—a sectarian other-worldly religion creating a very this-worldly political party.[30]

Because of the constant disruptions within the Baptist community it has never been able to create a genuine national church. Other denominations in Canada have faced a similar problem. The Lutheran church, for

27. E. S. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York, 1957), p. 138.
28. Clark, *Church and Sect*, p. 88.
29. Cf. H. H. Walsh, *The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1956), pp. 159–160.
30. Cf. John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto, 1959), *passim*.

example, has had a continuous history in Canada since 1772, but it has failed as yet to complete a national structure. This failure has been partly due to the language barrier among the various ethnic groups that have come to Canada in recent years; but it is also due to the fact that these recent immigrants are displaced and uprooted people and so open to the lure of the fundamentalist sects.[31]

The same may be said of those churches closely allied in spirit to Eastern Orthodoxy. Their strength comes in the first place from the fact that they serve as conservators of old-country ethnic customs and historic prejudices, as in an earlier day both the Anglican and Scottish churches considered themselves the conservators of old-country ideals and practices. But just as the Anglican and Presbyterian churches were attacked by the Newlight sects in Nova Scotia, so today new sects are making inroads upon Orthodoxy and its allies; Jehovah's Witnesses, particularly, are making a strong appeal to Orthodox, Uniat, and even Roman Catholic churches in Western Canada.[32]

It is beyond the scope of this paper to follow further these religious movements of protest, which are of so great interest to our sociologists, for they contribute little in a search for a Canadian Christian tradition. As long as Canada continues to receive large numbers of immigrants, who for a time will repeat the cycle of disorganization and reorientation, there will be confusion of outlook among the churches to which these immigrants belong, or among the new emerging sects to which they may turn to secure a new social status "in the community of the saints." What will be the ultimate form of their Canadianism must remain in the realm of speculation; and in such areas and among these newer citizens Canada will continue to be, in the words of Bruce Hutchison's title, *The Unknown Country.*

VII

It should be remembered, however, that the sectarian aspect of our religious and social development belongs to minority groups of our population. The vast majority of Canadians have gone through, as it were, the sectarian phase of their development and have reached a mature adjustment to New World conditions. It is to such sectors of our people that we must look for a Canadian identity and the shape of Canadian Christianity. The church that best illustrates for us this transition from sectarianism to a New-World church type of religion is the Methodist, now embraced in the United Church of Canada. Methodism has long been recognized as one of the determining influences in shaping the national character of English-speaking Canada. Although it had close affiliations with the pietistic movements on the continent of Europe and with Newlightism in America, there were in its early development certain historical factors which gave it a

31. Cf. W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* (Toronto, 1955), p. 33.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

decided advantage over rival sects as a frontier religion. The first of these was the class meeting, organized by Wesley as a means of keeping his followers true to their conversion experiences and to serve as a check upon extravagant expressions of religious enthusiasm.[33] A second factor in its favour was the circuit system with its itinerant ministry; other denominations soon learned the value of an itinerant ministry, but the Methodist preachers had an advantage over all other itinerants in that they carried along with them less baggage in the form of doctrinal tests. It was an Arminian type of Methodism that predominated on the American continent; consequently, activism rather than pietism became a characteristic of Canadian as well as American Christianity. Except in Nova Scotia, Methodism was at first an importation into Canada from the United States, during the second great religious awakening on the Western frontier. On the Canadian side of the border, however, there entered an element not present on the American side, for during the war of 1812 it became necessary to look for missionaries from England; these, when they arrived, brought with them a far more conservative type of Methodism than the American. The tension between these two wings of Methodism was to be productive of many schisms until Egerton Ryerson, the son of an Anglican Loyalist, but a convert to American Methodism, attempted to bridge the gulf between the two wings of the movement. He did this because he was engaged in a political duel with John Strachan, Archdeacon of York, who was attempting to create an Anglican-dominated society through church control of the educational system of the province. In the heat of the quarrel Strachan had cast aspersions on the loyalty of American-type Methodists.[34] In order to combat this accusation and also to secure governmental subsidy for Methodist educational and missionary objectives, Ryerson was willing to subordinate his own branch of Methodism to the English Wesleyan Conference.

At the end of a long and painful controversy, both Anglicanism and Methodism went through many structural and ideological changes, not the least being an acceptance by the Anglicans of the much contemned voluntary system for church support, and the acceptance by the Methodists of state subsidy. Nor were the Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Roman Catholics merely spectators in this controversy between church and state. All of them became involved in the political aspects of the struggle and more and more conscious of the national welfare of their country; this was particularly evident during election campaigns preceding the consummation of the confederation of the provinces into the Dominion of Canada.

VIII

We come now to one of the most important factors in the creation of a Canadian church tradition. As soon as Confederation became an actuality

33. Cf. S. G. Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* (London, 1926), p. 38.
34. Cf. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, Vol. I, pp. 152–191.

in 1867 the major denominations endeavoured to make their ecclesiastical structures conterminous with the new national state. This goal was necessarily preceded by a series of church unions. In 1870 four independent Presbyterian churches began to negotiate for the creation of one Presbyterian church; this was accomplished by 1874, bringing into being a General Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, representing a church population of 578,185.[35] Thus the long-divided Presbyterians took the lead in building a territorial church that was conterminous with the national boundaries of the confederated provinces of Canada. Next in line were the Methodists, who by 1884 succeeded in uniting six separate Methodist churches into one territorial church ruled over by a General Conference meeting every four years. This church became the largest Protestant body in Canada, with a membership at the time of the census of 1891 of 861,666, being 17.8 per cent of the population; the Presbyterians at the time of the same census represented 15.9 per cent. The Anglicans came next with a membership of 661,608, or 13.7 per cent of the population. According to the same census the Roman Catholics numbered 1,814,055, or 41.9 per cent of the total population of Canada.[36]

The Anglicans were somewhat delayed in forming their territorial church by the fact that they had become wedded to diocesan and provincial synods, which were difficult to fit into a national framework. By 1893, however, all the dioceses of Canada were represented in a General Synod which meets every three years. It was not until 1944 that a Baptist Federation of Canada was finally accomplished, but it was by no means representative of all the Baptists of Canada, and it still remains a very loosely organized federation because of the Baptist fear of monolithic unity. At the time of formation it had some 443,944 adherents, or 4.2 per cent of the population of Canada. A Congregational Union of Canada, whose function was "to cultivate brotherly affection and to obtain accurate statistical information," was founded in 1906, but it never attained the status of a national church. At the time of its formation the union was representative of about 25,504 Congregationalists, being 0.5 per cent of the population of Canada.

In 1952 there was set up a Canadian Lutheran Council to which most Lutheran bodies are affiliated, but their historian V. J. Eylands assures us that ultimate Lutheran unification is still a dream in Canada.[37] The Lutherans, all told, number some 444,923, or about 3.2 per cent of the population. Despite the hesitation of all these smaller groups to give up their local autonomy, there is evidence of a desire among even the most fearful to bring about a constitutional development in harmony with the political boundaries of Canada. Nor does this general observation exclude the Roman Catholic Church, whose first task after Confederation was to decentralize

35. Cf. W. Gregg, *Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto, 1892), p. 191.

36. *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951* (Ottawa, 1953), Vol. I, table 37, contains "numerical and percentage distribution of the population by religious denominations" from 1871 to 1915.

37. Cf. V. J. Eylands, art. "Lutheran Church," in *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, Vol. VI, pp. 226–229.

its top heavy rule from Quebec and then organize a Plenary Council (1909) more in harmony with the spirit of Confederation.[38]

One result of the organization of territorial churches was to lessen denominational rivalry; it became customary at national conferences of the churches to send fraternal greetings to one another. It was while a committee was conveying greetings from the Presbyterian General Assembly meeting in Winnipeg in 1902 to the Methodist General Conference also meeting in Winnipeg that negotiations for organic union between these two churches were undertaken. What at first looked like an impulsive gesture, without much forethought, on the part of an idealistic college professor was soon seen to represent a deep-felt urge in Canadian church life.[39] It is significant that the negotiations originated in Western Canada where all the major churches were facing serious difficulty in providing adequate services to a population thinly stretched out along two transcontinental railroads. Their failure in this regard had been a serious embarrassment to the churches since the Canadian government relied heavily upon them to provide moral and cultural guidance for new Canadians. This responsibility had for some time been the most pressing concern of home mission boards, and when these faltered the scattered settlements began to create community churches adequate to their needs. As these appeared to serve the community better than denominational churches, their members were fired with the idea that such churches should lead the way to nothing less than a national church of Canada.

IX

Many other factors also contributed to the desire for a national church. The artificiality of Canadian Confederation, which has been described as "the child of political deadlock,"[40] has made national unity something that must be constantly cultivated; and this situation has made the churches, which formerly produced the deadlock, more apologetic about their divisions than might otherwise have been the case. Again, the great number of conflicting interests that Canadians have had to overcome in order to create a viable nation has imposed upon them a spirit of toleration that is quite evident in public life. And so when a governor-general of Canada for the first time addressed a joint session of the American Congress he could with good grace plead for "infinite patience in international affairs."[41] It was by the practice of infinite patience that church leaders broke down the sectarian and regional barriers to the formation of territorial churches; the same infinite patience may yet bring about a truly national church of Canada.

38. Cf. H. A. Scott, "The Roman Catholic Church East of the Great Lakes," in A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty (eds.), *Canada and its Provinces*, Vol. XI (Toronto, 1914), pp. 93ff.

39. On church union cf. Walsh, *The Christian Church*, pp. 288ff.

40. Goldwin Smith, quoted by Sir John Willison in G. M. Wrong *et al.*, *The Federation of Canada 1867–1917* (Toronto, 1917), p. 4.

41. Quoted by Roy Daniells in *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*, p. 13.

Other reasons for believing that this is not too remote a possibility is the remarkable similarity of outlook among the major denominations. The most serious problem that the churches have had to face in recent years has been the industrial revolution; their response to this challenge has been very similar. As Stewart Crysdale has pointed out in a very interesting study of the churches and the industrial struggle in Canada, the churches "without exception opposed the first concerted effort of Canadian labour to win its demands by means of a trade-wide strike."[42] But as the churches came to realize that strikes indicated a serious *malaise* in industrial society they came together in search of a solution, just as they had formerly co-operated on the frightening problem of alcoholism on the frontier.

Through the initiative of church leaders the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada was organized in 1907. The Primate of the Church of England was made honorary chairman; the first president was the General Superintendent of the Methodist Church; a Presbyterian minister served as secretary; and to a Baptist minister was entrusted the treasury.

This first tentative approach at co-operation in the field of industrial relations evolved into the Social Service Council of Canada, which in 1914 put forth a statement of Christian social principles with which all the major denominations were in agreement. In 1918 the Council launched a magazine entitled *Social Welfare*,[43] Canada's first interdenominational publication. The Council is now integrated into the social action programme of the Canadian Council of Churches, whence it keeps a close watch upon all social legislation.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century some equally startling events occurred in the intellectual world. At such shocks from abroad as the "Colenso Affair," *Essays and Reviews*, and Darwinism the church leaders in Canada expressed a similar dismay. A perusal of titles of theological writings in a check list of Canadian literature[44] reveals a fairly uniform denunciation of higher criticism and the theory of evolution. Again, as in the case of strikes in the industrial world, this was only a temporary phase. In time the challenges to orthodox beliefs brought together in consultation theologians from various divinity schools with minds more open to new truths. In 1924 they were bold enough to publish a quarterly, the *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*, which had on its editorial board representatives from five major churches. It began publication at a very unfortunate time in Canadian church history, just before the emergence of the United Church of Canada (1925), which turned out to be a traumatic event in Canadian national life. Church union was followed by the disruption of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, and the emergence of a Society of Regular Baptists, who made the Baptist representative on the editorial

42. Stewart Crysdale, *The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada* (Toronto, 1961), p. 18.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
44. R. E. Watters, *A Check List of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628–1950* (Toronto, 1959).

board of the new quarterly the chief target of their fundamentalist ire. This stormy period in Canadian Christianity, along with the depression of the thirties, brought to an untimely end (December, 1932) a hopeful endeavour to provide an organ for the intellectual expression of Canadian Protestantism.

In the more subdued era of the fifties the attempt has been renewed with the launching of the *Canadian Journal of Theology* (April, 1955). The new quarterly has replaced the old title "Religious Thought" with the single word "Theology," with the explanation that the *Journal* is to be an instrument for "clarifying the words of God,"[45] a clear indication that theological interest in academic circles in Canada during the fifties was moving away from the social gospel, so prominent in the *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*, towards the theological renaissance of continental Europe.

It is questionable, however, if the average Canadian has yet adapted himself to this change in theological atmosphere. Even in intellectual circles he does not readily give up the philosophy of common sense coupled with the practical idealism that Professor John Watson taught a host of Canadian students for almost a half century (1872–1920). The editorial board of the *Canadian Journal of Theology* is not unaware of a constant murmur of dissatisfaction for its concern with theoretical theology, which it is told is of little help to busy persons still faced with the problems of providing social cohesion to uprooted or displaced persons moving into suburbia or new frontier towns.

In this complaint one detects a nostalgia for the old theology of religious experience, that arose out of the religious awakenings of the pioneer days of Canada. As if in response to this hunger, a new interdenominational magazine, the *Christian Outlook*, has appeared upon the Canadian scene with the promise that it will "keep an eye on the trouble spots at home and abroad and offer relevant articles on the more urgent social problems of the day."[46] It was on the very high premise that "Christianity is not Canadian but universal"[45] that the *Canadian Journal of Theology* set out to keep its readers informed on the deeper issues associated with the "eternal quality of truth." But these can become very abstract and Canadian church life is still very much directed towards practical problems of a concrete nature.

Since the highest idealism of Canada is expended upon "fashioning into one godly people the multitude brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues," so the territorial churches are chiefly concerned with social and ethical problems associated with national development. This concern has put its impress upon the evolving structures of our churches, which is reflected in the growing importance of the secretariat. In the United Church of Canada, the secretary of the General Council is a far more important official as far as day-to-day responsibilities are concerned than the modera-

45. *Canadian Journal of Theology*, Vol. I, No. 1 (April, 1955), p. 2.
46. *Christian Outlook*, Vol. 15, No. 9 (Aug.–Sept., 1960), p. 6.

tor; the former is a functional office whereas the latter is largely symbolic. It is just possible that the secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service is an even more influential figure than either the moderator or the secretary of the Council, since his administration is concerned with every aspect of the internal and external affairs of Canada. His opinion on any of these matters no Canadian politician can afford to ignore, any more than he dare ignore the apostolic delegate speaking in the name of the Plenary Council of Canada.

A similar growth in secretarial importance can be observed in all other churches attempting to strengthen their national structures. The diocesan system of the Anglican Church still gives the bishops an unusual amount of authority in virtue of the episcopal veto, but in the structure of General Synod the primate is just as symbolic a figure as a moderator; he has no fixed see and the greater part of his time is devoted to his own local diocese. So it comes about that the general secretary and the secretaries of the various boards are the functional officers in the national outreach of the Anglican Church.

It is evident, then, that the national purpose of Canada has imposed a new polity upon all our traditional churches. If the day ever comes for these churches to merge their ecclesiastical structures into one national church there will be little noticeable change on the functional level at least. The general secretary of the General Synod would probably need very little training to take over the office of the secretary of the General Council of the United Church of Canada. As for the secretaries of the various boards, they would have little difficulty in exchanging places and writing up one another's reports. In reading over the social service reports of the various churches one may find a somewhat different stress on such matters as gambling and the liquor traffic, but on the whole they have a similar refrain on such matters as industrial relations, prison reform, family planning, war and peace.

The growing importance of the secretariat is not unique to the Canadian churches, but now appears to be part of a world-wide trend. In the United Nations, which is also attempting to reconcile some very diverse groups, the Secretary-General has emerged as a world figure of great power. In the World Council of Churches the General Secretary is one of the most respected spokesmen for Christianity in the world today. His office bids fair to share a place with the papacy as the legitimate voice of Christendom on all matters of ultimate concern. Thus it would appear that the Canadian churches, under the necessity of adjusting their ecclesiastical structures to a most difficult confederation of conflicting loyalties, have pioneered in evolving a polity that may well become universal in both church and state.

Book Reviews

The New English Bible: New Testament. Oxford: University Press; Cambridge: University Press, 1961. Library edition. Pp. xiii, 447. $4.50. Popular edition. Pp. xii, 432. $1.75.

THE PUBLICATION of this new translation, a co-operative Christian endeavour of British scholarship, upon the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the greatest English version of the Bible, the King James, and upon the eightieth of the New Testament section of the English Revised Version, is a significant event of major importance in the history of the Bible in English and is to be welcomed on both academic and apologetic grounds. Work already begun upon the Old Testament and the Apocrypha is continuing, so that there will ultimately be a new translation of the entire Bible. Of this the New Testament portion is the firstfruits.

The need for a new British version has been increasingly felt. The popularity of individual translations such as those by Dr. E. V. Rieu and Prebendary J. B. Phillips, to say nothing of the earlier rendering of James Moffatt, offers evidence for the need, as does the appearance of various glossaries providing explanations of words now obsolete in the King James Version of 1611. The English Revised Version, completed in 1885, while it has proved useful for scholars and continues to be published in England for the use of the two senior universities, has never been a popular success. The American Standard Version of 1901, embodying the preferences of the American Committee in the revision of the 'eighties, did not commend itself in Britain. The Revised Standard Version, the New Testament section of which appeared fifteen years ago, has failed to achieve the success in Britain that it has attained in America. A new British translation was undoubtedly required. When the Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane of the Church of Scotland made representations to the General Assembly in 1946 urging that a rendering of the Bible be undertaken in the language of the present day, events were set in motion that resulted finally in the plan for a translation undertaken jointly by the major Christian bodies in Britain, the Roman Catholics excepted. (The latter have their own modern English rendering of the Vulgate by the late Ronald Knox, in which Newman's dream has been admirably realized.)

The new translation of the New Testament embodies the labour of thirteen years. Two panels were employed, one for the actual translation, the other as a board of literary advisers. Dr. C. H. Dodd, whose eminence in New Testament studies needs no comment, directed the project. Among those associated with him were Dr. E. V. Rieu, Professors G. R. Driver of Oxford, G. S. Duncan of St. Andrews, D. E. Nineham of London, J. K. S. Reid of Leeds, Principal C. L. Mitton, the Very Rev. W. R. Matthews, and

the Right Rev. Alwyn Williams. The task of the board of literary advisers was, to quote Dr. Dodd, "to scrutinise the work of the translators, and to take pains to secure that the language used was not only the English of the present day but (so far as possible) the best English of the present day." The names of those who composed this panel have not been disclosed. It will perhaps be recalled that two groups also worked upon the New Testament section of the King James Version. The method used for the new rendering was that of inviting one member of the panel to present a draft translation of a particular book or books. This was circulated in advance to other members of the group. They all then met together and discussed the draft in the closest detail. This consultation continued until a common translation was reached. Where two or more meanings were in question and the differences were sufficiently important, alternative translations have been placed in footnotes. No part of the rendering now published can rightly be regarded as the work of any individual. (The contribution made to both the 1611 and the 1961 versions by scholars associated with University College, Oxford, deserves mention. One of the seventeenth-century translators was George Abbot, then its Master and later Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. C. H. Dodd is at present an Honorary Fellow.)

At least four important features of *The New English Bible: New Testament* merit careful attention. The first of these is the underlying Greek text. Behind the Greek original of the King James Version was, one might almost say, a single twelfth-century manuscript. The Greek text of Robert Estienne printed at Paris in 1550, based upon this manuscript, became the *textus receptus* which was available to King James's translators and which they largely followed. Certainly the verse divisions, made by Estienne himself while travelling from Paris to Lyon and first printed in the edition of 1551, were adopted by them. Apart from the text of Beza the first independent use of any of the great uncial manuscripts was by Henry Hammond in his translation and commentary of 1653, more than forty years after the appearance of the King James Version, and not until the publication of Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* in 1657, dedicated in the first instance to Cromwell, does textual criticism of the New Testament really begin.

The contributions of *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Codex Vaticanus*, earlier in date than any previously known uncials, and supporting each other in evidence for a text quite different from the Byzantine one received, were incorporated in the English Revised Version. (This development largely reflected the influence in matters of text of two of the Revisers, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort.) Since 1881, however, textual study and discovery have continued. In the latter category one need only mention such items as the Chester Beatty Papyri, the Freer manuscript of the Gospels, the Koridethi Gospels, and P52, a small fragment of codex of the Fourth Gospel from the early second century. Evidence for the Greek text underlying the new translation is at least a century earlier than that of any text known to

the Revisers of 1881, while the amount of related material has greatly increased. The degree of advance in this area may easily be ascertained by recourse to the latest edition of Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece* and the textual notes of the second edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society's text of 1958. The methods of textual criticism have also undergone considerable improvement, and manuscript evidence has been re-evaluated in their light. There can be no question that the text underlying the new translation is a much sounder one than any used heretofore.

Yet this text itself presents problems. Will it remain satisfactory for long? The translators themselves state that they "are well aware that their judgement is at best provisional." Again, should not the text used by the translators be made available? What is the textual evidence for "twelve" rather than the usual "eleven" apostles in Acts 1:26? Does one explain, for example, the new rendering of the Beatitude in Matt. 5:3, "How blest are those who know that they are poor," as a freer translation of the Greek or by reference to a different text?

The second feature of this new version which deserves careful study is its use of our increased knowledge concerning the language in which the New Testament was originally written. The new translation embodies the fruits of new study of *Koine* Greek, particularly of its use as a non-literary language by ordinary people in daily life. Such people, after all, were the members of the earliest Christian communities in the Mediterranean world. The discovery of thousands of papyri contemporary with the New Testament writings has been of untold value. Not only are new meanings for individual words provided, but the flexibility of the language has been remarkably demonstrated. Even a few moments spent in turning the pages of Arndt and Gingrich's translation of Walter Bauer's *Wörterbuch* will show how far scholarship has advanced.

Thirdly, the translators have been granted a wider freedom than their predecessors enjoyed. The earlier translators, including those who produced the Revised Standard Version, aimed at preserving the general structure of the original Greek sentence in the English rendering of it, and translated the individual Greek words into the nearest English equivalents. This new version employs a different theory and practice. The translators affirm: "We have conceived our task to be that of understanding the original as precisely as we could . . . and then saying again in our own native idiom what we believe the author to be saying in his." In effect, they are trying to present each book of the New Testament not as a literal rendering but as an English book meant to be read by readers of English. This is, then, a new translation, not a revision of an older one, and this fact is clearly stated. The work is much more difficult, but the new theory and practice provide an explanation for many startling renderings. For example, the King James Version's 1 Cor. 15:20, "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept," becomes "But the truth is, Christ was raised to life—the first fruits of the harvest of the dead." Yet while this method of

translation has undoubted merits—it is used, for example, in the new series of "Black's New Testament Commentaries"—it is more individualistic. It is difficult to conceive of the use of this version by students in theological colleges to help them in translation from the Greek. Both the Revised Standard Version and the English Revised Version are better for such purposes.

Finally, the language and form of the new translation require comment. It cannot be said that the work is a masterpiece of English prose (as is the King James Version) or anything resembling it, in spite of the efforts of a panel of literary advisers. One need not be the Professor of Poetry at Oxford to see, for example, how badly the opening sentences in Matt. 5:1f. of the so-called Sermon on the Mount compare with the majesty of the King James Version. The new version reads:

When he saw the crowds he went up the hill. There he took his seat and when his disciples had gathered round him he began to address them. And this is the teaching he gave.

The King James Translation ran:

And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set his disciples came unto him: And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying,

The beauty of Phil. 4:8:

Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things;

is reduced to this:

And now, my friends, all that is true, all that is noble, all that is just and pure, all that is lovable and gracious, whatever is excellent and admirable—fill all your thoughts with these things.

"We have sought to avoid archaism, jargon, and all that is either stilted or slipshod," say the translators in their Introduction. Is "the cock crew" in common use today? Are not "Alas for you!" "fatted beasts," "half a hundredweight," "tax-gatherers" archaic? Are not "on the human level" and "on the level of the Spirit" either jargon or stilted speech? Many such examples could be given.

Yet even in the matter of language there is something to be said on the other side. At least the translators aimed at the best English of today. One must admit that the quality is more that of the language of *The Times* than of the *Evening Standard*. The age of Shakespeare, in which the King James Version appeared, was an age of majesty for English. The language of today cannot be described as majestic. No wonder then that the new translation is, in comparison, pedestrian. Again, because the translators sought to provide a new version, so far as they could, and not a revision of the old, they intentionally surrendered the advantages of the linguistic

beauty of the past for the idiom of the present day. One should, perhaps, be less surprised by the low level of artistry in the language than by its height, in spite of the odds against it from the beginning. One might well remember, too, that the Greek original was written, not in the majestic classical Greek of Thucydides and Aeschylus, but in the *Koine*, and in a *Koine* in which semitisms abounded.

If the language of the new version is bound to disappoint many readers brought up on the King James translation, the new form should at all events be welcomed. Not only are prose and verse differentiated, double columns on a single page abandoned, and paragraphing employed, but the objectionable verse divisions interrupting the reading are removed. The sixteenth-century addition of verse numbers is transferred from the body of the text to the margin. There is also the assistance of section headings, as in the work of J. B. Phillips. For example, Romans 1–8 is entitled "The Gospel According to Paul," 9–11 "The Purpose of God in History," 12–16 "Christian Behaviour." No one will agree with the appropriateness of every heading, but for the most part this editorial comment should be of help to many readers.

Finally the *New English Bible: New Testament* will have real value in making the Bible speak to the world of today, especially in Britain. The day when, in the words of J. R. Green, "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible," has long since passed. Most of the population have lost any effective contact with the churches. They do not hear the Bible read, nor do they read it. The legacy of the Scriptures in English is, for the most part, unrecognized by them. The publicity attending the appearance of this new translation has not been without its effect. This New Testament was made available where it could be, and was, readily bought. To the non-churchgoer its cover and format appear attractive. It will certainly be understood more easily than the older versions. It will continue to provide considerable excitement and debate, and more than a little disappointment in some quarters. For anyone who studies it closely the words of the translators will ring true: "No one who has not tried it can know how impossible an art translation is." This is a useful rather than a great translation, but one for which the English-speaking world can still be grateful.

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The History of Religion: Essays in Methodology. Edited by M. Eliade and J. M. Kitagawa. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1959. Pp. xi, 163. $5.00.

This is a time when religions everywhere are resurgent. This fact should be given wider recognition. The position of power and political dominance formerly held by the West has gone, and with it, also, the position once

held by the Christian religion. Older civilizations in new political dress, trying desperately to reach into their antiquity for sources of authority, have brought forth a new affection for ancient religions and called it patriotism. The classical literature of ancient times has again assumed a place of great importance. Our own renaissance reached us long ago and has had centuries in which to work itself out. But in this modern world the tempo has increased tremendously and in Asia and Africa revolution, reformation, rapid social change, industrial birth and population explosion all come tumbling over each other. Is it any wonder that the soul of the twentieth-century Asian cries out for something firm, and that many seek to find this in the religion of their fathers?

The small volume which forms the subject of this review is dedicated to the memory of Joachim Wach. It is a symposium of eight essays by eight different writers and, with the possible exception of Kitagawa, who is more western than otherwise, all are westerners of the western tradition. It is expected that there will be other essays edited by these two distinguished scholars from the University of Chicago, and it is to be hoped that points of view other than western may find their way into future volumes. Some recognition of the great work that Christian Study Centres in the East are doing should soon find a place in American theological thinking.

The first of the essays, by Professor Kitagawa, is a short study of the history of religions in America. He finds little in American religious background that warrants optimism. More often than not American religion has been self-centred and proud, and prejudiced against all non-Christian religions. Even now, in spite of the pressures of modern living and the new place of importance thrust on Americans by international movements, there is little evidence of a real desire for an adequate teaching of the history of religions. The condition might be described as chaotic.

Professor Wilfred Smith writes under the title, "Comparative Religion: Whither and Why?" Dr. Smith has lived among peoples of other religious beliefs and has gained a genuine sympathy for them. His thesis is that the new world situation is compelling us to explore the essential human quality of our subject matter. This he would sum up in four main points: (i) The study of religions is the study of persons; (ii) Detached study is no longer possible; the investigator himself must be essentially human; (iii) The present position is one of encounter and description, which must grow into dialogue; (iv) The final implication of dialogue is that in the study of comparative religions man is really studying himself.

Then follow four shorter essays. The first of these is by Professor Raffael Pettazoni, who writes on a favourite thesis of his: "the notion of the Supreme Being is not exhausted in the image of a celestial being." The French Jesuit, Jean Daniélou, contributes a study on Henry Dumery's "Critique and Religion" (Paris, Société d'Editions d'Enseignement, 1957), and Professor M. Eliade writes on symbolism. Professor Eliade's thesis is that "since man is a homo symbolicus and all his activities involve symbolism, it follows that all religious facts have a symbolic character." No attempt is

made to prove this assumption, and very few will agree with the author's deductions. "The Real Elite" is the subject of Professor Massignon's essay, the philosophic hypothesis of which would probably be welcomed by most of India's modern Brahmins.

In Ernst Benz's "Understanding of non-Christian Religions" there is an outstanding contribution to the problem of confrontation, encounter, and communication. We of the western Christian tradition are often defeated in our attempts to understand such religions as Shintoism, Hinduism and Buddhism. The chief reasons for this (he argues) are: (1) the clash of our thinking, which is fashioned upon belief in a personal deity, with a transcendental philosophy; (2) our total condemnation of polytheism and our inability to see it through the eyes of a Hindu or Shintoist; (3) our failure to realize how different the clear-cut distinction between Creator and created, with which we are familiar, is from a philosophy which sees man, nature and the universe as one continuing process. Professor Benz has brought to this study a deep respect for the faith in which he was nurtured and a reverence for and a knowledge of the great religious traditions of the East.

Finally, there is the essay of Professor Friedrich Heiler on the "History of Religions as a Preparation for the Co-operation of Religions." The key-word is "co-operation." To Heiler the contentions of Toynbee and Radhakrishnan are justifiable and valid. All history, he contends, inclusive of the best of Christian scholarship through the ages, proves their point. We are much indebted to Heiler for this appeal to the highest and best and the most beautiful in the history of man as revealed in the great historic religions. Nonetheless, this chapter should be read not in isolation, but over against such recent writings as R. C. Zaehner's *At Sundry Times* (the chapter entitled "Consummatum Est") and Hendrik Kraemer's chapters on "Syncretism as a Problem of Religion" and "Syncretism as a Missionary Problem" in his weighty volume, *Religion and the Christian Faith.*

While the content of some of these essays has a limited appeal, the bulk of the book is exceedingly apt for our times.

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Modern Trends in World Religions. Edited by J. M. Kitagawa. La Salle, Ill.: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1959. Pp. xvi, 286. $3.50.

Such a title will catch the eye of a public roused to a new interest in the religions and their mid-century renaissance. The book is composed of papers given in 1957 as a memorial to Paul Carus, the secretary of the first Parliament of Religions and editor of The Open Court. Such is the tempo of our times that a few are already dated and need the editor's footnotes.

Change, of course, is the theme of the book; but not all writers view "modernity" in the same light. The famous Dr. Suzuki, for instance, simply gives us an exposition of Zen Buddhism. In doing so, he turns his back consciously on "all trends, ancient and modern," and urges the elimination of "the very desire to know," so that we may begin again with a timeless consciousness. "While living, be dead—thoroughly dead; Then do what you will, and all is good." So goes the Zen variant of Augustine's "Love God—"

There is a similarity of mood in the article on modern mysticism by the psychotherapist Karlfried von Durkheim, "Religious Experience Beyond Religions." This may be explained in part by the fact that the writer did many years of research on Zen in Japan. The present-day path to the beatific vision (though he does not call it that) involves "breaking the ego-mind". The result is that "one may quite suddenly feel embraced by some unknown power and altogether 'taken by love'." But when Durkheim continues, "It is not a question of loving someone or something," one asks in perplexity whether we can really know Love without loving? One's missionary impulse stirs, urging that one declare, to the religious outside religion, who this Unknown Power is who takes us by love.

Dr. Muhsin Mahdi discusses the implications of the term "modern"; and, while admitting that Islam has been hit hard by its contact with the West, he believes that all religions must come together "to discuss modernity as a common problem . . . and develop a better understanding of the issues involved." He describes Mohammed Iqbal as typical of Muslim scholars attempting to harmonize Islam with "the natural sciences—religion as confined to personal experience and mysticism—and the historical sense." The majority, however, rejoice in the evidence they see that discredits modernity; their concern is to work out, in the present political situation, a unity of religion and the state which is based on the Medina ideal.

It is ironical that this chapter is followed by an essay by Charles Adams of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill, showing the failure to attain this Islamic ideal in Pakistan. The initial zeal has turned to disillusionment, caused by "political bungling, corruption in government, a worsening economic situation, and the inability of the authorities to think their way through to a clear conception of the goals of the state and its policies." The relation of religion to politics is not so simple and direct as they assumed from the Prophet's success in Medina. The coup of 1958, which established a secular government, could hardly have succeeded had it not begun "to appear (to the educated minority) that Islam had no guidance to offer for the situation of a modern state."

Professor Ellis Rivkin not only deals with contemporary movements in Judaism, but also gives a review of its history since the Middle Ages in order to validate a theory of the history of religion, for which each new "structural configuration" retains the past even when reacting against it. Apparently he sees no unifying principle in the Hebrew Scriptures; when to the disparate movements originating from their heterogeneity there is

added an obvious "bending of the divine word to the contours of an age" (expressive phrase!) the present complex situation is the result. Nevertheless, since that complexity holds within itself the whole past, he feels that the history of Judaism is the key to the understanding of history in general. Empathy is the clue to unity in diversity.

Dr. Winston King's competent article on "Modern Trends in Christianity" deals with more familiar material, and we need not linger over it except to remark that his own point of view is evident when he describes "Biblical Theology" as "this new Biblicism." On the other hand, we look eagerly for new light on the situation in China in the article by Professor Chan of Dartmouth College. He shows that the history of religion and philosophy in China has produced a real liberalism; he hopes this will moderate Communism, and quotes Mao's 1957 declaration, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, and let a hundred schools of thought contend." Indications are that most of the flowers have been plucked since then.

One of the best papers, on Theravada Buddhism, is by Dr. R. H. L. Slater, recently of the Faculty of Divinity in McGill. (Incidentally, Dr. Slater's article in this journal ["Christian Attitudes to Other Religions," October, 1956], was summarized by A. C. Bouquet in his recent book, *The Christian Faith and Non-Christian Religions.*) Under Buddhist leadership, South-East Asia is undergoing a cultural renaissance which has deep religious roots as well as political fertilization. Not only that; but Theravada Buddhists are developing a sense of mission to counteract the "warlike tendencies of the Christian West." The recent Great Council at Rangoon looked for "a great revival of Buddhism throughout the world, when the Buddhist way of life, and thus universal peace, would prevail."

The stimulating variety of this book should be evident from this survey. But there are two disappointments. The article by Professor Chakravarty of Boston University on Tagore is good; but Tagore is hardly representative of the resurgent Hinduism of the past decade. And there is nothing at all on Mahayana Buddhism. This is all the more disappointing, because this is the faith that Toynbee, in "An Historian's Approach to Religion," sees as an adequate Eastern collaborator with Christianity in the work of overcoming man's curse of self-centredness. The publication of the Round Table Conferences in Tokyo show little evidence of awareness of this high calling; so far as this book is concerned, the "Great Vehicle" receives only a passing mention in the chapter on China.

Of course there are other trends one would like to see discussed; but the reader is sure to get his money's worth from this symposium. We can no longer think of the world's religions simply from the point of view of their classical expositions. We need frequent reports like this; religions and cultures are on the march today.

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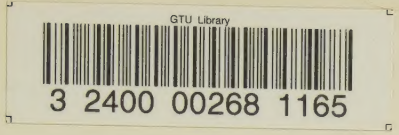

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